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THE MONTH

VOL. CLXXXI

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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Election Results in Britain

DEMOCRACIES are notoriously ungrateful. So must Mr. Churchill have reflected when the election results were announced on July 26th. To the majority they were a great surprise. An observer from abroad would have thought Mr. Churchill's prestige so high after his massive achievements and inspiring leadership during the darkest period of British history. Yet, a large proportion of the British public has thought otherwise; it has opted for what must inevitably be the experiment of a Labour Government, this time and for the first time, with full powers. Looking backwards at the event, one can disentangle several causes for the change. Firstly, reaction—against ten or really twenty years of mainly Conservative rule, together with a dull instinctive reaction against shortages and queues and rationing, for which the Government actually in office must always bear the blame. Next, the revolt of youth against its elders, for it is clear that a large number of the age-groups 20 to 30, meaning also a large proportion of the Forces, have voted Labour. Then, the wind is blowing from the Left, as it is—in intensity, if not always by force of numerical support—across the Continent. It would be foolish to ignore the persistent Left propaganda of the past twenty years and its effect on the younger generation of Englishmen and women. There is a spirit of "Radicalism" in the air, which has taken to itself all the labels of "scientific thinking," "progress" and the like; to be Conservative, in their eyes, is to be "reactionary," unintelligent and opposed to all reform. We are back in the atmosphere of 1906, with this big difference, that the outburst of Liberalism then was thoroughly British, whereas to-day there are other elements, and decidedly foreign elements in the picture. The new Government, to which all citizens must wish well in its honest attempts to deal with reconstruction problems at home, will have stern difficulties. It is committed to a programme of nationalisation of certain key industries; many of its supporters will grow restive if that programme is not soon put into motion. Yet, the country's economy requires the most delicate handling. Sudden and sharp changes might well do it irreparable harm. It is committed to a policy of control, in some ways to control for control's sake; but nothing is more apparent than the people's desire to be rid of the tiresome controls which have complicated their lives throughout the past six years. What they

were prepared to tolerate, while war continued with Germany, has now become for them an intolerable nuisance. The irony is that many of these controls will have to continue, whether the Government wants them or not. Then, there is the housing and general reconstruction programme ; that alone is sufficient to make or break a Government.

Repercussions Abroad

IT is widely stated that the election was fought on domestic issues and that Britain's foreign policy was not involved. This is a half truth, and no more. Both parties have a general foreign policy which includes full support for the new League of Nations, whose structure was elaborated at San Francisco, close understanding with the United States, and with Russia, co-operation in dealing with Germany, and, wherever possible, with other international questions. Nevertheless, a distinct difference of emphasis can be observed. Unless great care is taken, the change of Government might gradually impair our excellent relations with the U.S.A. In the first place, the Americans suspect that we were not as concerned about the war against Japan as we were with that against Germany. This is not unnatural, since Japan is so far away. But our Left-wing extremists who, since June, 1941, have been anti-German because Germany was fighting Russia and could be labelled "Fascist," were inclined to dissociate themselves from the Japanese war ; that was not Russia's concern, and they continually besmirch British policy in India and the Far East, calling it rank Imperialism. Suspicions in the United States will not be allayed by Go Slow methods in British docks or by the threat of widespread strikes in Britain. Some Americans argued, not without justification, that, as a people, we were treating the war against Japan too lightly and getting back too soon to domestic problems and squabbles. Nor will the threat of industrial quarrels in Britain raise our prestige on the Continent. One of the most pressing problems of the coming twelve months is that of relief for Europe. American U.N.R.R.A. reports declare that the Continent cannot possibly provide sufficient food for this winter. Germany, more fortunate in this respect than most of the countries it has occupied, can provide, at most, two-thirds of the bare minimum. There is serious danger of famine, over wide areas of Europe ; and apart from the scarcity of food, the transport problem is extremely acute. In East-Central Europe, the Russians have made the situation very much worse by living literally on the land and by dismantling and removing to Soviet territories large quantities of machinery, including machinery for agriculture. A grave shortage of fuel adds to the grim prospects. The people of Europe will not think much of us—and we will forfeit all their esteem—if domestic differences in Britain are permitted to interfere with the provision of help for Europe, in so far as we can

decently give that assistance. It will be a sorry introduction to the New Order of international co-operation if people are to starve and freeze—even perhaps to death—on the Continent, while dockers go slow in Britain and railwaymen threaten to strike.

Dropping the Pilot

WHATEVER the results of this election, the position of Mr. Churchill in English history is assured. No man has done more to represent the British people in their hour of need and to hearten them in times of dark adversity than Mr. Churchill. To paraphrase a famous saying of his own, rarely in the history of this people have so many owed so much to one single man. It was his voice that hurled defiance at a seemingly all-conquering foe, after the evacuation from Dunkirk. It was his far-sighted vision which shipped our slender resources of tanks and armaments on the long voyage round the Cape to hold our vital positions in the Near East, that focal point from which our tide of victories started to unroll. It is highly doubtful whether any other Englishman could have played at all the part he has played so magnificently, as Britain's leader during the war. It was Mr. Churchill who drew the "Big Three" into consultation on the major strategic problems of the war; more than any other man does he deserve the title of "architect of the Allied victory"; more than any other man—the Germans realised this fully—was he responsible for Germany's overthrow. He merits the deep gratitude of the people of Britain, indeed of all Allied countries; it is safe to prophesy that history will ratify this verdict. This does not mean that his policies have been always beyond criticism. In fact, our foreign policy in Europe has been, for some two or three years, uncertain and unsatisfactory; throughout the last year, it has been little short of disastrous. Grave errors have been committed, firstly, in the general character of our propaganda, and then, in our attitude of appeasement with regard to Russia. It was obvious that, between Russia and the Western Allies, there had to be "give" and "take." Our general impression is that it has been all "take" on Russia's part, with the small exception of Greece, and all "give" on ours. The policy of appeasement of Germany failed miserably from 1936 to 1939; there is little reason for imagining that it has succeeded between 1944 and 1945. What one has missed has been a serious attempt to persuade the rulers of Russia that it is to their interest to work as honestly and harmoniously as possible with Britain and America, and that the straightest way to secure this co-operation would be to favour genuine freedom and representative government in the countries of East-Central Europe. What one has seen, unfortunately, has been the gradual placing of those countries under Russian-selected or Russian-inspired administrations, obviously foreign to the spirit of those countries and distasteful to their peoples. It was

unfortunate, to say the least, that we should have first sponsored and then recognized a man like Josip Broz, alias Marshal Tito, in Yugoslavia ; and it is more than unfortunate—it is an ignominious betrayal of British honour and Poland's independence—that we should have given the slightest sign of recognition to a group of Soviet marionettes in Lublin and Warsaw, under a Soviet citizen, M. Bierut. For these great blunders (the second must be called a crime) Mr. Churchill, more than any other statesman, is responsible. I have mentioned "propaganda." It has been one recurring theme of our propaganda during the German war that all resistance was coming from the Left—a fact that is quite untrue and unreal. Right-wing groups, conservatives generally, with all monarchists and upholders of tradition, have been continually dubbed "Fascists," "reactionaries," and the like. This propaganda has now had its boomerang effect in Britain. If all conservatives on the Continent are to be damned as "Fascists," then might not the Englishman ask why he should tolerate conservatives in Britain? If all salvation in Europe was to come from the Left, why could it not also come from the Left at home? Such propaganda, sponsored here by a mainly Conservative Government, has had here some very un-Conservative results.

The Potsdam Agreement

THE "Big Three" meetings have been a striking feature of the past two years. Certainly, they have done much to co-ordinate Allied military strategy and to alleviate mutual suspicion. Yet, they had one big defect. They supplanted more normal means of decision and agreement between Russia and the Western Allies. A difficult situation arose, let us say after Teheran. It was assumed that nothing could be done about it, but that its solution had to be postponed until the next reunion of the "Big Three." Meanwhile, the situation worsened. When the Three met again at Yalta, the problem was rapidly disposed of, little notice being given to its complexities. Frequently, it meant that two of the Three, whether they liked it or not, had to ratify a *fait accompli*. One of the wisest resolutions that could have been taken at the Potsdam meeting would have been a unanimous vote that there should be no more "Big Three" meetings, except, maybe, for purposes of friendly intercourse, certainly not to determine world policy and resolve world problems. International relations need to be brought back to more customary avenues of diplomatic representation and, when needs be, to reunions of Foreign Ministers ; and, in any case, we now have the San Francisco framework of a new world organization, into which even the "Big Three" should attempt to fit. However, the announcement in the Potsdam statement that the Foreign Ministers of Britain, the U.S.A., Russia, China and France, are to meet in London and

establish there a Joint Secretariat is a welcome indication of some return to normal. The Potsdam meeting was necessitated by the problem of a settlement of Germany. It is a severe settlement they have elaborated. Not obviously unjust for it supposes that the Germans have the major responsibility for the war of 1939-1945, as they had indeed for the war of 1914-1918; that their behaviour was marked by cruelty and terrorism on a large scale; and that the German people must bear some collective responsibility for policies adopted and methods employed in their name. That Germany should be totally disarmed and her war industrial plant dismantled is only right, as it is only reasonable to supervise and control her heavy industry. And, if we be surprised to read that agriculture is to be encouraged in Germany at the expense of industry, well, that is the programme which Germany intended to serve on her European neighbours, making herself a strongly industrialised centre, surrounded by mainly agricultural satellites. There are, however, disquieting features in the Potsdam document. Among them, the cession of Eastern territory to "Poland," demanded by M. Bierut's Government, but regarded as of doubtful morality by more representative Poles. This demand partly masks the Soviet seizure of Königsberg and part of East Prussia and must perpetuate a mortal feud between Germans and Poles, which can be to nobody's advantage but the Russian. Suspicious also is the Soviet undertaking to settle the Polish reparation claims out of the Russian share. The arrangements for these reparations are thoroughly unsatisfactory. In practice, it means that the Russians will take whatever machinery etc. they please, denuding Eastern Germany as they have been denuding Poland and Roumania; Britain and the U.S.A. are given *carte blanche* to behave similarly, should they so wish. Finally, one has the feeling that this settlement will not work. It will require continuous revision, and a settlement of that kind is unlikely to endure. Millions of Germans will have to migrate from East Prussia, Silesia and Czechoslovakia. There is little room for them in an already overcrowded Germany; there will be less room than ever, if Germany is to be agriculturalized.

A Spanish Blunder

THE "Big Three" were ill-advised to declare that any application from the Spanish Government for membership of the new world organization would meet with their disfavour. I can think of nothing more likely to unite a proud and sensitive people than the thought that the "Big Three"—to them, this reads M. Stalin and the two others—do not approve of them. It is well known that M. Stalin does not particularly care for General Franco who was, after all, mainly responsible for depriving the Russian leader of that hoped-for influence in the Spanish peninsula that would have

followed a Republican victory in the civil war. Politically, a pronounced Russian influence in Spain in 1936 or 1939 would have been unfortunate for Britain. We might remember that it was not alone General Franco who was benevolently neutral towards Herr Hitler between 1939 and 1941; the German Führer had another benevolent neutral on his Eastern flank. Such a strong Russian influence at the Western end of the Mediterranean would be just as unfortunate for Britain now. Actually, whatever attitude you adopt towards Franco's victory and the Franco régime—and few subjects even to-day can rouse such violence of feeling—it is clear that he has given to his country a measure of order which the Republicans could never have secured for it. They were at loggerheads among themselves, despite their common opposition to General Franco; and their émigré leaders have not stopped quarrelling with one another, from 1939 till this present day. It may be advisable, it may even be necessary, that the Franco régime should develop into a constitutional monarchy or a broader-based Republic. The process will not be facilitated by threats from Moscow or Potsdam.

France and Britain

WE are still without those cordial relations between Britain and France which are necessary for the proper re-establishment of Western Europe. The divided fortunes of the two countries since 1940 have not yet been suitably bridged and harmonised. Recent happenings in Syria and the Lebanon—and, to a smaller extent, in Algeria—have not assisted the process of rapprochement. The French generally are convinced that Britain wishes them no good in the Near East. Their minds go back to Franco-British tension in Egypt between 1900 and 1910, and they recall the name of Fashoda. On the whole, they are unaware of the awkward situations created by the Vichy administration in the Lebanon and Syria, and they do not realise that they did themselves real harm by not following the British example of agreements with the Governments of Egypt and Irak; they are slow to understand the effect on French prestige of the collapse of 1940 and the German occupation of France. However, the fact remains that a considerable majority of Frenchmen blame Britain for their difficulties in the Near East. A Gallup Poll, quoted in the July number of *La France Libre*, answered the question: "Who in your opinion is responsible for events in Syria?" as follows:

England	65%
France	3%
Both sides	4%
The Anglo-Saxons	3%
Germany	3%
The Arabs	2%
Other causes, chiefly economic ..	8%

A second widespread belief is that General de Gaulle's request for a Five Power Conference on Near Eastern affairs was reasonable and that Britain was unreasonable in refusing this. A third prevailing feeling is that Franco-British difficulties over Syria and the Lebanon must not be permitted to overcloud the wider problem of Franco-British relations. This opinion is very pronounced among members of the Socialist and Radical parties; and there was evidence, in debates in the French Consultative Assembly, of a touching desire for better and more solidly established relations with Great Britain. Needless to say, everything we can do to favour such relations ought to be done, for it is most important that Britain and France should be on genuinely friendly terms, as it is eminently to be wished that the two countries should pursue a common foreign policy on the Continent. Many difficulties stand in the way. The "Big Three" mentality had made us less sensitive to our vital European interests, nearer the Channel. France's internal situation is precarious. A black market flourishes on a scale it would be hard for an Englishman to credit; and the Government is bitterly criticized for not dealing more severely with it: prospects for the coming winter are decidedly grim. There is some deep disunity among the French, which the trial of Pétain, for instance, will certainly have accentuated; while the change of Government in Britain may emphasize certain trends in British policy on the Continent which will antagonize large sections of the French people. A definite Leftward swing is noticeable in all French political circles that are articulate, as was clear from the municipal elections of April and May. The French Communist party is thoroughly organized and very active; at present it basks in the shade of Soviet Russia and its influence is out of all proportion to its real membership. Notwithstanding our political changes at Westminster, it is still true that any further drift of France towards the extreme Left will not favour the resumption of cordial relations between France and Britain.

French Disunity

ONE feature of the recent election in Britain was the evident preference of the British electorate for two Parliamentary parties and no more. It was not so in France before 1939; it is not likely to be so, in France of 1945, if the municipal elections of April 29th and May 13th are a pointer to the future. For some time doubts were expressed as to the advisability of holding municipal elections before it was possible to arrange a national ballot. However, they were held; and they show a distinct swing towards the Left. But local issues, always important in France, have complicated straight political issues to such an extent that no clear pattern of French life is yet to view. The number of parties taking their places in these elections was bewildering. There were six pre-war parties, i.e.,

Fédération Républicaine, *Alliance Démocratique*, Radicals, Socialists, Communists, and the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire*; the last-named, M.R.P. for short, embodying the policies of the pre-1939 Popular Democratic and Young Republic parties, and being labelled "Progressive Catholic." In addition to these parties, there were sixteen different groups from the various Resistance Movements, and a large assortment of other "fractions," usually connected with an individual or with some local interest. The confusion arising from this phantasmagoria of groups and parties can readily be imagined. Some of the results confirm it. In one Department (c.f. *The World To-Day: Chatham House Review*, July), out of a total of 335 *communes*, all but two have a majority described as "résistants de gauche." In another, 135 seats out of 642 have been won by representatives with no political affiliation. In yet another *commune* the Municipal Council will consist of 2 Communists, 2 Socialists, 2 Radicals, 2 M.R.P. members, and 16 classed as "indeterminate." For the second ballot, Socialists combined, in some localities, with the M.R.P. to keep out Communists; in others, Socialists and Communists joined forces to defeat moderate and M.R.P. candidates. Nonetheless, it is clear that town areas have moved definitely to the Left. In the 1935 municipal elections, of the 15 French cities, with populations over 100,000 (Paris and Strasbourg are here excluded), 5 had Socialist, and 3 had Radical majorities; 5 had a combination of Radicals and either moderates or independent Socialists, and 2 had a majority of moderates. In the recent returns of 1945, 12 of these cities have either Socialist or Communist majorities. Lyons remains Radical, while Rouen and Le Havre are moderate. Paris and the Paris region are markedly Communist. The "red belt" of the Seine-et-Oise is redder than ever, with 80 municipalities in Communist hands; in the Seine Département over 60 of the 80 suburban *communes* have a Communist majority. The Communists did not fight these elections on a Communist programme but, in conjunction with several Resistance groups, on a general and negative policy of opposition to Vichy and "Fascism." The French Communist party will play a significant rôle in the next three or four years. Its strength lies in its organisation and its clever association with the Resistance Movement; strength and weakness both are present in its inevitable association with Soviet Russia. The presence in the results of many majorities, unclassified or "politically indeterminate," e.g., in 137 of the *communes*, with a population over 4,000, and in 5,000 of the rural *communes*, indicates probably the existence of moderate or so-called Right-wing groups that are politically more or less inarticulate. In France to-day parties become less organized and less articulate as they move away from the extreme Left. This means a strong emphasis at one end of the political scale, with next to no emphasis at the other. It is a bad symptom.

The Trial of Marshal Pétain

AN attempt was made to surround the trial of Marshal Pétain with an atmosphere of dignified legality. To a French mind, unswayed by political passion and consequently lucid and legal in its approach, the results can scarcely have been satisfactory. From the evidence given it was not made clear that the responsibility for asking for an armistice was essentially Pétain's. M. Reynaud's testimony was that the decision to seek the armistice was taken by a majority of the French Cabinet. Not was it made clear that Pétain had been trying to subvert the French Constitution of 1875. The appearances in the witness box of politicians of the *ancien régime* like MM. Daladier, Reynaud and Blum cannot have afforded them much comfort; they were obviously attempting to vindicate their own positions, even to the extent, at times, of throwing some of their burden of responsibility for France's unpreparedness and weakness in 1939-1940 on to Pétain's shoulders. There are grave dangers in judging the situation of 1940 with the eyes of 1945, as is evident from the mere fact that, in 1940, the French Communists were working actively against the effective prosecution of the war, with their deputies excluded from the Chambre for their lack of patriotism, and their present leader, Thorez, under sentence of death as a deserter from the French Army and a traitor to France. For it is not Pétain alone who was on trial. The people of France were on trial with him—the politicians for France's condition of unreadiness, in which he doubtless shared; the French people for their general acceptance of his spirit of "defeatism." Pétain, it is now evident, acted timorously and wrongly in 1940. Had France continued the struggle against Germany from her colonies across the Mediterranean, it would have been much harder for Metropolitan France, no doubt, but the war would have been shortened. The long, slow, painful fight for control of the Mediterranean and of Northern Africa would have been spared us. France would have retained her soul and spirit, though her body might have suffered greater indignities. But it is the British, more than the French, who should feel indignation with Pétain. The fact remains that, in 1940, a large majority of the people of France thought that Pétain had acted wisely. It was all *faute de mieux*, no doubt; but they did accept the new and painful situation, with the armistice and the consequent division of France into two zones as a temporary way-out. History has proved them mistaken; and they are delighted to have been proved wrong. But many of them will still argue that a false course of action, undertaken in an attempt to save the people of France and safeguard France's soil, ought not to be branded as treachery and that it is wrong to saddle Pétain for the altered circumstances of 1942, when the Germans occupied the whole of France. Those circumstances were altered not by any action of Pétain but by the Allied invasion of North Africa.

A Tribute to the Italian People

IN the American weekly, *Commonweal*, for June 8th, there was an article by a Jewish refugee from Europe. The article pays such a glowing tribute to the kindness and decency of the Italian people that I feel it ought to be far more widely disseminated. The writer begins thus :

When the day of judgment comes and the books of time are balanced, then shall we be duty bound to step before the presiding tribunal with the undeniable testimony that even under the most trying period of recent history the Italian people bore staunchly and proudly the golden banner of humanity.

A solemn beginning ! The writer describes his entrance—or flight—from France into Italy.

I crossed the Col di Finestra with three comrades. On the top of the mountain was an Italian fort. As we approached the summit, Italian soldiers came rushing down towards us. Frightened, we threw away our knapsacks and began to run. "Siamo amici," they shouted, and they waved us to come back. "Siamo amici. We are friends." They had dashed out only to help us mount the last steep edge of the Col di Finestra and to assist us with our luggage. Yes, these were the Italians.

Everything was upside down in Italy. The army was on the point of being dissolved, and everywhere the forces of the Germans could be seen. Fortunately, we were forgotten in the general confusion. The first days we kept on marching. When we were tired and hungry we entered the nearest farmhouse. In the beginning we did not dare to identify ourselves but we quickly learnt the magic of the words *Siamo Ebrei* (We are Jews) . . . It was as in a fairy tale. The unfriendly faces suddenly changed into kind ones, food was brought out of hiding places. The Italian people treated us with moving hospitality. Even though it was strictly forbidden to hide or to give asylum to strangers, never did we encounter difficulties in finding a place to sleep.

After a time we even dared to board the trains. A stationmaster to whom we told our predicament assured us that the Germans did not supervise train travel. In this fashion, via Genoa and Florence, we reached Rome.

The writer's experiences in Rome fully bear out his verdict upon the people of Italy. There was an underground organization for Jewish relief under the leadership of a Capuchin friar, Padre Benedetto, who worked in friendly liaison with the Italian police. Passports and ration cards were improvised for these immigrants. "Trembling, one entered police headquarters. 'You are French, Catholic, Aryan, aren't you?' said the official before one could open one's mouth and he wrote the permit."

The Catholic Church never failed to help us in our trouble. She assisted us in finding quarters in the houses of pious Catholics. Single women found refuge in convents. I lived, together with a comrade, with the widow of an Italian general. In the next apartment were two

young Italians. On the floor above us lived two English officers. Almost all houses in Rome had such guests. The janitor, who was responsible that nobody living in the house should remain unregistered, knew about us. And the other people in the house knew.

He adds the story of how he was nearly captured by the police near Santa Maria Maggiore, a story which again reflects upon the goodness of the ordinary Italian folk. He was stopped in the street by two Fascist policemen, followed by a German.

According to the data on my papers, I was an Italian. But my first sentence spoken in Italian would have given me away. I looked at the Italian policeman with tired, uncomprehending eyes, and when he repeated his request I slowly reached into my pocket. He took the paper, checked the snapshot.

"Are you from Naples? Since when have you been in Rome?"

I did not answer at once, held my head in an awkward position, mouth open and lips dropping. And then I stammered, "Bom . . . Bom . . . Bombardimento . . . Napoli . . . Bombardimento . . ."

My words were accompanied by uncertain trembling gestures. "Residence permit. Where do you live? What are you doing in Rome?"

I did not react to any of these questions. "Bom . . . Bom . . . Bombardimento . . . Napoli . . ." I repeated it over and over. "Bom . . . Bom . . . Bombardimento . . ."

In the meantime curious onlookers had gathered around. Words of disapproval could be heard: the police should leave the poor victim of the war alone. But the Fascist asked more and more questions, and became more and more nervous. I pretended to try hard to answer, struggled with the words but my trembling lips did not bring forth anything but the sad, accusing "Bom . . . Bombardimento . . ." Eventually the policeman got tired, and gave me back my papers. I did not move. I was afraid to turn back. He might change his mind the minute he no longer saw my eyes, which had caused him to feel pity: the eyes of a man broken by fate.

Finally he left . . . finally . . .

Slowly I turned to the people surrounding me and continued my act, "Bom . . . Bombardimento . . . Napoli . . ." Suddenly I felt a hand in my pocket, another followed. All of a sudden my pockets were filled with money. Tears were running from the eyes of an old woman. "My daughter also died during the bombardment of Naples," she sobbed.

Slowly I went on my way and hid myself in the doorway of a house round the corner. My knees were trembling as if I had actually experienced a bombardment. I found 57 lire in my pocket. I felt like a thief.

Then comes the description of the liberation of Rome, with the final service of thanksgiving in the Roman synagogue, when the place of honour was occupied by Padre Benedetto, the leader of the underground committee.

And when the Rabbi, a member of the English army and in uniform, deeply moved, thanked the Catholic Church for all she had done in the

deepest fulfilment of the command "Love thy neighbour," and when he, while saying this, pointed to Padre Benedetto, the silence of the House of God was broken by a storm of applause which threatened never to cease. And perhaps for the first time since the creation of the world it happened that the walls of a Jewish house of prayer trembled with applause to honour a Catholic priest.

Left Wheel

FROM the United States comes an interesting example of a Communist change of front. Since the meeting of the Big Three at Teheran, American Communists had identified themselves with their country's struggle against Germany and Japan.

Teheran, it seems, had changed everything, including Marxist-Leninist dogma. It meant the end of all efforts to communize American democracy in the immediate post-war period. It meant that all classes must henceforth work peacefully together within the framework of the capitalistic system. It meant that the Comrades—as Simeon Strunsky maliciously wrote in the *New York Times*—formerly busy with the class struggle, must now turn their minds to the "multiplication table and memorizing the Gettysburg Address." It meant, in Mr. Browder's flamboyant words, that "if J. P. Morgan supports this coalition (Anglo-Soviet-American) and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand on that and join with him to realize it."

This Teheran volte-face was a little hard for the Communists of the U.S.A. Nonetheless, true to what they imagined to be Moscow's good pleasure, they managed the turn-over. On January 10th, 1944, the Executive Committee of the American Communist Party recommended to its Party convention that they should commit *hara-kiri* and that post-war political issues should be decided "within the form of the two-party system traditional in our country." That same night, Earl Browder, the American Communist Secretary, broke the news to a Communist rally in Madison Gardens; the Communists "were being asked to abandon the great Lenin for some vague place called Teheran." Here is the vital passage:

It is my considered judgment that the American people are so ill prepared, subjectively, for any deep-going change in the direction of Socialism that post-war plans with such an aim would not unite the nation but would further divide it. And they would divide and weaken precisely the democratic and progressive camp, while they would unite and strengthen the most reactionary forces in the country. In their practical effect, they would help the anti-Teheran forces to come to power in the United States.

Since then, apart from some defections, the Communists in the U.S.A. have played the patriotic game. But now the blow has fallen. In the April issue of the *Cahiers du Communisme*, in far-away France, Jacques Duclos, one of the leaders of the French Communist Party, raised the dread accusation of *heresy* against Earl Browder. In a long, 8,000

word article, he charged the American Communist Secretary with drawing from the Teheran Conference "false conclusions in no wise flowing from a Marxist analysis of the situation." He accused Browder of making himself "the protagonist of a false concept of the ways of social evolution in general, and, in the first place, the social evolution of the United States." If Comrade Browder had known his Communist A.B.C. more thoroughly, "he would have arrived at a conclusion quite other than the dissolution of the Communist Party of the U.S." What, you might wonder, was the reaction of "freedom-loving" Earl Browder, citizen of the U.S.A.? He had the stinging attack upon himself printed in the May 24th number of the American *Daily Worker*, with an apologetic foreword from his own pen. The Editor explained to his readers that the article of Duclos reflects the criticism of European Communists on the trend of American Communism and "thus demands our most respectful consideration." Consequently, "we must make the most careful inventory, balancing our political books, and know clearly how we stand as we enter a new period of *sharpening struggles, crisis and profound changes*." This lick-spittle attitude is characteristic of Communist parties, wherever they chance to be. Every self-respecting country should finally regard them as bodies entirely subservient to a foreign Power and acting as that Power's disreputable agents.

The Left Wing Against Stalin

IT is frequently assumed that, when Soviet Russia adopts a certain attitude, all extreme Left-wingers nod approval and follow suit. Of the Communists, pure and simple, this is correct enough. There is always a Communist party line. The line may vary, but its variations are tactical and are all dictated from Moscow G.H.Q. Yet, curiously, there is evidence among certain definitely Left-wing groups of a growing opposition to Soviet Russia, and in particular to Stalin. The reason given for their new hostility to Russia under Stalin is that Russia is now pursuing an imperialistic policy and is opposed to a social revolution in Europe. Among such critics in Britain are the Trotskyites, the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.), the Anarchists and the Peace Pledge Union; there are similar groups in the U.S.A. A few quotations from their papers of the last six to nine months may prove of interest, particularly to such as never come across them. The *New Leader* (I.L.P. organ), commenting on Russian policy in Finland, said:

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is driving it to take a reactionary line in Europe. There is, unfortunately, no other conclusion to be drawn. Not only in Europe, but in Britain and America, the "Communist Party" marionettes dance to the strings pulled in Moscow. They will sacrifice even the pretence of Socialism to meet the demands of the Stalinist game of Power Politics. (March 17th).

The same issue commented bitterly on the Yalta agreement over the partition of Poland. It spoke of Yalta as "Churchill's Munich" and of Stalin as the Napoleon of Russia :

In any event, the Russian armies are now invading Europe, the O.G.P.U. is, if what we hear is at all accurate, proving a worthy and equally effective successor to the Gestapo when it comes to dealing summarily with critics of the Stalinist régime, both Left and Right—in the "occupied"—pardon, pray, I mean "liberated"—countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

Mr. McGovern's speech in the Commons' debate on Yalta will be remembered for its outspoken denunciation of Russian policy and of Stalin. It finds its echoes in I.L.P. and other Left-wing journals. *Forward*, for April 21st, reproduced an article from the American paper *Commonsense*, entitled "Reaction in Russia," which stated :

The Russian Revolution, conceived in noble aspiration, at first won deep loyalty. By now, almost all the intellectuals and labour leaders who originally defended it have turned away in despair. To-day, the Russian Revolution inspires no one. It is stripped of idealism. It does violence to the principles of freedom and democracy . . . The quality of Russia's position in the world to-day is not enviable. Once it was the fountain head of idealism, now it is admired for its military worth. Once Russia competed for the esteem of the workers of the world by pitting Lenin against Warren G. Harding. To-day she seeks to win friends and influence people with the Stormovik.

The Socialist Party of America, which is similar to the I.L.P. in Britain, is violently anti-Stalin. Its weekly paper, *The Call*, condemns the Russian policy in Poland and accuses Stalin of being opposed to revolution in Europe and of being interested only in an imperialistic policy for Russia. One extract from *The Call* runs as follows :

The Nazis believed that they would be indispensable to the Allied Powers—even in the event of military defeat—as an instrument for the suppression of European revolution. Stalin competes effectively with Hitler as organiser and instrument of the European counter-revolution. But he too will insist on a price for the rendering of this "service" to his Western Allies. The price is foreign loans to help rebuild his economy and European "spheres of influence" in areas that can be plundered of their economic resources.

And so Stalin's foreign policy which we have continually criticised as nothing but the recrudescence of the Old Imperialist foreign policy of Czarist Russia, now aided by Communist Parties in almost every land, is likewise pilloried by the extreme Left-wing. From entirely different approaches we condemn and reprobate the same dangerous thing.

The Newman Centenary

THE centenary of the conversion of John Henry Newman is to be celebrated in Catholic circles this summer and autumn as

fully as the restricted circumstances of to-day will permit. From the 18th till the 25th of August, the National Newman Centenary Conference is to be held at Beaumont College, Old Windsor. Some hundreds of visitors will be taking part. Full accommodation for the week is necessarily limited, limited in fact to four hundred applicants, and is being provided at Beaumont and the neighbouring convent schools of South Ascot and Slough. There is likely to be, in addition, a number of day to day participants. Lectures and meetings have been arranged for both mornings and evenings. The morning sequence will treat of Newman's life and times, his literary work, particularly "The Grammar of Assent" and "The Idea of a University," and his spiritual Odyssey towards the haven of true faith. The general theme of the evening lectures is : "One Hundred Years Afterwards," with talks devoted to subjects like "The Modern Catholic and the Apostolate of Christian Truth," "Faith and Reason—the Problem of To-day," "Modern Catholic University Education and Newman's Ideals," and "The Present Position of Catholics : Loss or Gain." Among the lecturers are : Mgr. Ronald Knox ; Fathers Martin D'Arcy and, J. D. Boyle, S.J. ; the Rev. H. F. Davis and Herbert Keldany ; Professor Nigel Abercrombie and Mr. T. S. Gregory ; and, from outside Britain, the Rev. A. H. Ryan, from Queen's College, Belfast, and Professor Joseph J. Reilly, of Hunter College, New York. The conference takes place near the tree-shaded banks of Thames, with their atmosphere of leisure for mind and spirit, to say nothing of opportunities for more vigorous recreation. The Archbishop of Westminster, with the Bishops of Northampton and Portsmouth and, it is hoped, Archbishop Roberts, S.J., of Bombay, will participate in the conference. It is eminently fitting that we should commemorate the great convert and Cardinal, whose influence on English thought and letters, as also on the Church of England and upon the Catholic Church in this country has been profound and enduring. He was a great figure in English literature ; he is the greatest English convert to Catholicism ; his work is an abiding witness to the truth of the Catholic faith and the power of the Spirit in the world. An interesting article by Christopher Dawson, in the August "Sword of the Spirit Bulletin," speaks of the Cardinal as a prophet of the great upheavals of our own days. Writing in 1877, he declared :

My apprehensions are not new, but above fifty years standing. I have all that time thought that a time of widespread infidelity was coming, and through all these years the waters have, in fact, been rising as a deluge. I look for the time, after my life, when only the tops of the mountains will be seen like islands in a waste of waters. I speak principally of the Protestant world—but great actions and successes must be achieved by the Catholic leaders, great wisdom as well as courage must be given to them from on high, if Holy Church is to be kept safe from this awful calamity, and though any trial which came upon her would be but temporary, it may be fierce in the extreme,

while it lasts. (*Life of Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfrid Ward. Vol. II, p. 416).

The Revival of Pax Romana

A VERY welcome sign that relations between Western European countries are being re-established is the Pax Romana meeting that has been arranged to take place in London from August 25th until the 30th, after the Newman Conference. Pax Romana is the International Union of Catholic University graduates and students, and this first post-war meeting is due to the energy of the Newman Association that has already refound its contacts with members of Pax Romana abroad. Writing to M. L'Abbé Gremaud, of Fribourg, Switzerland, who is the Ecclesiastical Assistant and General Secretary of the movement, His Grace of Westminster has declared :

I congratulate you on your determination to lose no time in re-establishing contacts with Catholic students and graduates from as many countries as possible, and in planning for the resumption of that international co-operation from which we expect so much in the future. The very title of your organization urges its members with particular insistence at the present moment to do all in their power to foster the mutual understanding and co-operation between those of different races and nationalities, from which alone can come the true and lasting peace with justice to which our Holy Father, the Pope, exhorts us, and which is so earnestly desired by all men of good will.

The aims of this coming meeting are largely preparatory. In the first place, it wishes to give an impetus to the work of renewal of contact between Catholic graduates and students in many countries and to plan a programme of Student Relief, in association with other student bodies. Secondly, it is hoping to lay the foundations of the first large post-war Pax Romana Congress, to be held, if possible, in 1946. It will also consider :

- (i) The rôle of Pax Romana in post-war reconstruction and its contribution towards the revival of Catholic life in the Universities of Europe.
- (ii) The future organization of Pax Romana ; in particular the proposal to establish—either within the framework of the movement or as a parallel organization—an international association of Catholic University professors and other graduates.
- (iii) The possibility of sponsoring an Institute of International Relations affiliated to one of the existing Catholic Universities to serve as a centre for teaching and research in international problems.

Contacts between Britain and even Western Europe are, as yet, anything but normal. However, it is hoped that a number of representatives from abroad may attend the Conference and thus give it the international character, for which it appeals and which it thoroughly deserves.

FIVE YEARS IN GERMAN CAMPS

EXPERIENCES OF INTERNMENT IN GERMANY.

[EDITORIAL NOTE : This article is contributed by two members of the English Province of the Society of Jesus who have spent five years in German internment during the Continental war. When the Germans invaded Denmark, they were teaching at Sct. Knuds Skole in Copenhagen. They were arrested on May 6th, 1940 ; transferred to Germany on May 17th, 1940 ; and eventually released, from their fourth internment camp, in the Austrian province of Carinthia, when British soldiers arrived there, on May 9th, 1945.]

WHEN the European war began, we were on the teaching staff of the Jesuit college in Copenhagen. The quiet of the early months of the war may have given us a false sense of security but things did appear ominous, when we learnt that the Scandinavian waters had been mined, along the Swedish and Norwegian coasts.

Early in April, 1940, Father Martindale arrived in Copenhagen to give some lectures. He was well received by the Danish Press and invited to the British Legation to meet the Minister. One of us accompanied him. We were chatting with the Minister about midday when the radio informed us of the mining of Scandinavian waters. "The situation looks very black," one of us ventured to remark. "Don't you worry," was the reply, "you couldn't be in a safer corner in the whole of Europe than up here in Denmark." The following morning at 5 a.m., the Germans were dragging the Minister out of bed at the point of the bayonet. It was too late then for anyone to get across to Sweden though, had we been given two hours warning, we could easily have done so. The Germans landed from two vessels that had been lying in the harbour for several days : that is how they first arrived. The fighting was limited to a few minutes in the South of Jutland and a small skirmish round the king's palace at Amalienborg. The Germans forced the Danes to capitulate by threatening to destroy the city from the air. Heavy German bombers were circling overhead.

We now know that all the German soldiers sent to Denmark had been issued with special instructions, including a detailed study of the Danish character, to treat the Danes with respect and tact as Hitler desired to make Denmark the model country for his New Order in Europe. Our own impression is that the Danes received the Germans with a significant coldness which surprised them considerably, because they had been led to understand they had been sent to Denmark to protect that country against a British invasion. Leaflets were dropped the same morning in a strange mixture of Danish and Norwegian, stating that

the Germans had come to defend Denmark and that the Danes would retain their independence and national sovereignty. It is interesting to recall that most Danes ceased to listen to the Danish radio, since it was enemy-controlled. Of course, the Germans were about the city in no time ; their police on point-duty ; some of their tanks in evidence. To the German annoyance and the amusement of the people of Copenhagen, Danish errand boys would cycle up to these tanks at top speed and then suddenly put on their brakes. The Danes had been talking about a "black-out" ever since September, 1939, but nothing much had been done. That night, there was a complete black-out ; the Germans saw to that.

Denmark remained quite peaceful. A Coalition Government was formed which endeavoured to function normally.

A notice appeared in all Danish newspapers that British subjects must report to the police on May 6th. On that day and the next, the Danish police, acting presumably on German orders, arrested about 50 of the Englishmen in Copenhagen. We had just been in the church for the evening May devotions and had gone back to our rooms. The house telephone rang. The Brother Porter told us, "They're here ; they are waiting for you in the reception room." We went down to find two plain clothes Danish policemen. Without much ceremony, they said, "I'm afraid you'll have to come along to the police station." We asked whether we should come, as we were—in soutanes—and they replied, "Well, please yourselves." "Shall we be back this evening?" we asked further. They answered, "We don't know, but it is very likely ; we have to check up on passports."

We had the feeling that our stay at the police station might be a good deal more lengthy, and so we changed into ordinary clerical dress, and were taken off, without luggage of any sort. We found ourselves in a kind of waiting room where were a number of Englishmen whom we had never seen before but who were to be our companions for the next five years. As soon as 20 of us had been collected, we were led through a narrow corridor into the prison and there relieved of our personal effects. Up the long staircase, and we were placed before the doors of individual cells. Our clothes were taken away and we were turned into the cells. The warder let down the bed in the cell, and there was nothing to do but to turn in and try to sleep.

The next morning, Black Marias took us off to another prison, outside Copenhagen ; there we were placed, for three days, in solitary confinement. We felt ourselves completely stranded. There was not even a piece of paper or a pencil. One of us discovered a slate and slate pencil in his cell, and beguiled himself jotting down snatches of poems and mathematical problems. But soon certain small relaxations were permitted. The warders invited us to occupy ourselves by cutting out little wooden figures. We asked for some books and

eventually one book appeared. Once each day we were allowed out into the courtyard, where there was a caged run.

After three days, the American consul paid a visit to the camp. We were assembled in the chapel to meet him, and he informed us that we had been rounded up for our own protection. However, things changed completely, and for the better, after his visit. We were all allowed out into the courtyard. There the prison chaplain spoke to us, telling us we might have our meals together and might smoke and talk, and that the cell doors would not be fastened on us any longer. As a result, the prison officials, who were Danes, were quite bewildered ; there was pandemonium in the prison. We had a rather pleasant time.

Too good to last, of course. One afternoon, after an excellent meal in our common room we were told we were to be transported to Jutland. There was no question of release ; internment in Jutland—that was what awaited us. The married men were permitted a visit from their wives, with weeping and mutual leave-taking. Next morning, we were entrained for this camp near Viborg, not far from Aalborg. A comfortable journey for we had been put into first-class carriages and given good food. We little dreamed that this was only the prelude to internment in Germany. However, there were to be a few days in Jutland, and they were just like a spell in a holiday camp. Prison warders guarded us, but they were unarmed ; waitresses served us in the camp restaurant, our rooms were swept and tidied for us. We were there nearly a week, and had begun to organize the camp on rough and ready lines. A Camp Senior had been elected to preside over from 50 to 60 Englishmen and 20 Frenchmen. Once again, it was too comfortable to continue. One evening, as we were feeding together, the Camp Senior rose from the table. "Gentlemen," he said, "I have some very bad news for you. We are to be taken off to Germany to-morrow." Our spirits went down very rapidly.

You may be wondering why we all went so quietly. The American representative from the U.S. Legation assured us that we were going to Germany, in order to be collected in a camp near Nuremberg for immediate repatriation through Switzerland. Some of them, hearing the name of Nuremberg, thought immediately of Dachau.

This second journey was not as comfortable and carefree as the first. The carriages were definitely third-class ; we were cramped, and naturally depressed. At the start, we were in Danish hands ; but no sooner had we reached the frontier than the Danish guards came alongside the carriages, to bid us farewell. The train was sealed and we were shipped across the frontier to Flensburg, where we first saw German military police. Orders now came abruptly and in German : it was our first taste of German custody.

The journey was continued to Hamburg. There we changed trains and were allowed to have a cup of coffee in the station restaurant.

Here we heard the German wireless giving the war reports. We were in the disused waiting room at the back of the restaurant when suddenly a German lieutenant in charge of the transport burst into the room. "Cheer up, gentlemen," he shouted, "Antwerp has just fallen ; you will be home in three weeks." The train took us through Leipzig, where we had our first sip of German Ersatz tea ; the German Red Cross provided it, and mighty disgusting it was. Nothing further occurred till we arrived in Nuremberg at the *Hauptbahnhof* ; we had to catch a local train from the *Lokalbahnhof*, and were marched through the streets, and stared at and laughed at by the citizens. Arrived finally at our detraining point, we still had a tiring walk ahead of us, carrying our heavy luggage. It was now about 4 p.m. ; we had had no meal of any kind ; we were hungry and very weary. Nevertheless, there were all sorts of formalities to be gone through ; we were photographed, documented, and given a prison number that we were to keep for the next five years ; also our finger prints were taken. Then we were assigned to a barrack room. It was in a filthy condition, but the Germans soon compelled a number of Polish prisoners of war to clean it out. These Poles were in a sorry state of destitution. There were beds, arranged in three tiers ; each of us had two blankets, and they were dirty. We were cheered by the announcement that a hot meal was to be served, only to be disappointed sadly when it arrived. There were two large cauldrons of *Wehrmachtsuppe* (lentils and hot water) and nothing else. We were sipping this thinnish mixture outside the barrack room when a Prussian Colonel of the old type came on the scene and condescended to say a few words to us. His conversation recalled the remarks of the transport officer at Hamburg. We should keep cheerful ; Germany was winning the war hands down ; soon we would be back home, in a Britain under German occupation. "The German bombers," he assured us, "will do all that is necessary."

Some days later, after we had been again and again examined and all articles of interest and value had been taken away from us, we were entrained once more. This time for Weissenburg. From this charming little Bavarian town we had a difficult climb uphill—to a castle perched on the summit. This was the internment camp for British civilians. Our first sight was of a number of strange individuals, clad in remarkably little—they had been sunbathing—crowded behind barbed wire to watch the arrival of the new internees. After the usual formalities, we were allotted to various rooms. There we saw the beds in three tiers, straw from the newly-filled mattresses scattered about the floor, washing dangling from lines hung across the room. It gave us the general impression of a slum habitation not unlike the scene in the Fleet Prison in "Little Dorrit."

Gradually we settled down. The prison contained a small library ; we passed the time reading and sleeping on our beds. We were allowed to write but having no experience of censorship, naturally

filled our letters with comments and criticism of the camp. The letters were promptly returned, with sarcastic remarks, such as this, "An Internment Camp is not a hotel." The accommodation was roughly for 400; in a short time, there were 1,200 of us. The result can easily be pictured. Luckily the weather was fine, and we could remain out of doors; the majority of the inmates spent their days idling in the sun. For our first few weeks, however, we were locked indoors at 5.30 p.m. The rooms were so crowded that it was possible to move between the three tier beds only by going sideways; all personal belongings were kept on the beds during the day and on the central table at night.

Gradually the process of "training" our Germans was taken in hand. We were ordered to salute German officers with a military salute and to shout *Achtung* when we noticed a German officer approaching. Naturally we refused to do this or to stand to attention when spoken to. Slowly the regulations were modified.

Our first months of internment were months of German victories. Indeed, these German victories continued throughout 1940 and 1941. Dunkirk and the collapse of France, in the west; then, eastwards, the campaign in the Balkans, the occupation of Greece and Crete. Yet it was amazing how the internees retained their belief in ultimate British victory. This we did largely by digging in our heels and refusing to believe what was continuously pumped into us by the German papers and wireless, on the grounds that this was purely Nazi propaganda. No one believed that Paris had actually fallen for days after the event, for example. Our favourite argument with the Germans was that this was a matter of strategy, and that one day the strategic tide would roll back to decisive victory. There were some few pro-Germans in the camp (P.G.'s we termed them); and, as soon as we arrived, we were warned to beware of these P.G.'s. Various individuals who had been living in Germany for many years and had been saturated with the propaganda of the Nazi régime, were pointed out to us as persons to avoid; at least, we should never discuss politics with them.

Gradually the numbers in the camp were reduced. Many Dutchmen were released and sailors were sent to special camps for seamen. It now became possible to organize some entertainment, especially as we had with us a number of professional artists who had been caught touring the Continent. Little shows were given either in the courtyard or in the larger rooms. The entertainments officer also organized some classes during the winter. These consisted of small groups who sat about in various corners and studied subjects like foreign languages, the theory of music, etc., that required no special apparatus. Several public talks were arranged, e.g., a series on "My Job in Normal Life," on countries people came from—by that time we had internees from all over Europe—and these talks proved helpful and instructive.

The library began to improve as books came in from various organizations, in Britain and on the Continent. The last few months spent in this camp were comparatively pleasant. Only about 200 of us were left, apart from a handful of Belgians, Dutch and Frenchmen. Camp life had been sufficiently organized.

Attached to the castle was a chapel. During our first months there the local priest was permitted to come up and say Mass every few weeks. Then, for a period, some Dutch priests were interned, and they eventually obtained leave to celebrate every Sunday. We organized a small choir and performed the ceremonies in quite creditable style. Unfortunately, we had no English hymnbooks, so that hymns had to be transcribed from memory, together with the music ; we made copies in pencil on small scraps of paper. By Whitsun, 1941, all these interned priests had been freed, and orders were issued that no German priest was to be permitted to enter any prisoner of war or internment camp. Consequently, for our remaining months there, the only thing to do was to hold Morning Prayers every Sunday, with short sermons in English or German—in German, because the majority of the Catholic internees were Frenchmen or Dutch or Englishmen from Germany, and all understood German. Confessions were strictly forbidden but, as long as there were priests with us, they were heard in corners of the garden or leaning together out of windows.

The early months of internment were regarded as an interval of enforced rest and holiday. The men did not settle down to serious work.

Food was, of course, a problem. We reached this camp just at the period of the Western campaign when the lines of communication across Holland were broken. Supplies of food through the British Red Cross were interrupted for a time, and we were compelled to exist on the German rations. They were thin enough, in all conscience—black military bread, substitute coffee, and at midday, a bowl of soup—from lentils or dried swedes ; to obtain the regulation quantity the Germans just added more hot water. In the evening, we were given a small portion of German sausage, occasionally some cheese or jam, though the greater part of the jam never found its way to the internees except via the camp canteen where they were allowed to purchase it. However, before our arrival, Red Cross parcels had come in great quantities. The older inhabitants had large stocks of them. Consequently we supplemented the meagre official rations with food prepared on the stoves in our rooms. When there was no coal ration or after it had been exhausted, the furniture was chopped up for fuel. A shortage of tables and chairs was one of our most frequent complaints.

Our second camp lay in Silesia, to the East ; before the war it was a lunatic asylum. For us, it was a vast improvement. Only ten men in our room, and there were priests among the inmates. We had daily Mass and Communion, and all the conveniences of a chapel. The

chapel was equipped with a small organ, delapidated but still playable. The result—on Sundays, sung Mass and Benediction. The priest in charge was a magnificent man, well past middle age. Though chronically ill, he was of indomitable spirit and his cheerfulness was infectious. He was very well liked, particularly by "real Englishmen," though some of the Continental Catholics from France and Belgium had difficulty in appreciating his character, as he, in turn, found it hard to sympathize with the laxity of their religious practice. With varying success, he employed most of his time in trying to bring back the slack and lazy to their religious duties. Generally speaking, the attendance at Sunday Mass was good. Actually, he instructed about ten non-Catholics in the camp and received them into the Church. The cheerful manner in which the clerical internees put up with the trials of camp existence did more to convert the slack Catholic and appeal to the non-Catholic than any amount of sermonizing, argument or rounding-up.

It is usually believed that the Germans are masters of organization, and slaves of method in every way. That this is not always so may appear from the lackadaisical manner in which our camp authorities treated even the most serious incidents of internment life. One day there was a funeral. The coffin was duly interred but, on the way back from the cemetery, one or two of the pall bearers said that the coffin they had just carried seemed remarkably light. Back in camp further enquiries were made. The Church of England padre obtained permission to go across to the mortuary, and to his dismay discovered that the body they thought had been buried was still there. The whole funeral service and address had been conducted over an empty coffin. The body was eventually buried secretly.

It may be asked what were the chief psychological problems of internment life. The internees were varied in character, and they were drawn, casually and accidentally, from people who happened to have been living in Germany or in territories now German-occupied. No bond existed between them such as that which obtains between military prisoners of war. They were held together by the rather more negative ties of common suffering and experience.

Some of our difficulties can readily be guessed from the motley composition of the camp. The ages of internees ranged from 16 to 75. We had Jews and Christians; English, French, Belgians, Dutch, Scandinavians, Poles, Czechs and Germans; such they were in effect though all nominally British subjects. There were internees of the upper, middle and working classes; professional men, business men, factory workers, and so on; academic status descended from University Professor to the complete illiterate; and handfuls of Theosophists, Christian Scientists and Nonconformists were scattered among the larger number of members of the Church of England and the Catholic Church.

To these wide divergencies must be added the problems of severe physical restriction and confinement. It was hard to avoid irritation when we were continually having to tread on one another's toes, sometimes in the quite literal sense ; as will be seen, there were occasional squabbles between groups, who wanted sport or entertainment or more serious educational activities. Then came the inevitable *barbed-wire fever*, the common disease of those who can only stand and wait, and whose mental and spiritual resources are not adequate for the strain. The result was frequently a nasty sense of frustration ; boredom and total uncertainty about life, what the French call very aptly a *je-m'en-fichisme* ; depression aggravated by bad news from home or by bouts of ill-health as also by the tiresome and monotonous Nazi propaganda.

Nonetheless, we were conscious of these difficulties and managed to solve some of them, and generally to ameliorate conditions. The problem of the great range of ages could never quite be dealt with. Younger internees enjoyed noise and movement ; older members craved for quiet and peace. Since the Germans seldom made any provision for work and studies, there was a constant sub-current of friction between the more boisterous and the calmer groups. The various national elements tended to form groups of their own. The Jews showed more unity and energy and—it must be confessed—greater unscrupulousness, if their interests were endangered ; they might quarrel among themselves—and this they certainly did—but they were capable of showing a united front against all other groups. But gradually the groups saw more of one another ; understood other points of view ; most of them adopted English as a *lingua franca*. Mutual respect increased with time among members of different national groups and of varying social classes ; firm friendships were formed between individuals of very different backgrounds. Lectures helped to bridge the many gulfs as did friendly association in sport and entertainment. As regards religion, it was found that direct discussion augmented rather than diminished friction ; but there were indirect ways which drew persons, of varying creeds and outlook, closer to one another. Material conditions varied from time to time. When they improved, so too an improvement in these psychological conditions would be noticed. Man is an adaptable animal. Our fellow captives proved no exception. They got used to things ; good humour was an invaluable asset, and one learnt how to cope with the temperament and idiosyncrasies of others.

Till about the middle of 1942 education had not been regarded in the camp with any real seriousness. The majority of the inmates were still hoping for a speedy release. But the scheme worked out by the British Red Cross which made it possible for examinations to be taken in prisoner of war and internment camps proved of immense value. The idea of passing an examination was itself a real incentive,

for many of the men were thinking about a future job or career in England ; they had lost whatever they had possessed or whatever prospects they had had on the Continent. Besides, it was becoming more and more likely that we might have to remain interned for a very long while.

When finally it was decided to organize educational work in the camp, many were sceptical. Some who might have rendered useful service as instructors refused to lower themselves to the level of the ordinary simple student. On the whole, however, the response was good. Soon we discovered that only a few of the internees had the power of concentration and perseverance which was essential if any permanent result was to be achieved. Indeed, this lack of constancy was one of the most striking characteristics of our would-be students. It was quite common for a man to study a foreign language intensely for a few weeks, then stop all study for a couple of months, only to begin again, but with a different foreign language, for another spell. We also discovered that, the less a person knew, the more he imagined he could cope with ; it was our experience too that very few appreciated the assistance they received gratis and for nothing. Because of this, we finally introduced a fee for participation in the classes ; this helped to assist application and perseverance. The funds thus accumulated proved useful for the purchase of paper, pens, ink, chalk, etc., as long as this was possible in Germany.

The results of the first examinations held were beyond all our expectations ; and many more were encouraged to join in the scheme. For example, in an examination held in September, 1943, there were 72 candidates from our camp alone. But these studies were carried through under the most serious difficulties. Cramped conditions compelled us to use places like bathrooms and mortuaries as classrooms ; the acute shortage of paper meant that the backs of labels from Red Cross tins, cigarette packets, etc., had to be employed for notes and exercises. Text books were a continual worry. Transport from England was slow, and it was not easy to have sufficient copies of the same text book for any class. In many cases, the teachers were forced to give their instruction purely from memory ; and everything might have to be written down by the students, as for instance, all the theorems of the Matriculation geometry course. These difficulties all considered, it is remarkable that such good results were actually attained. Several students educated abroad managed in internment to pass the London Matriculation and Intermediate. Had the Educational Scheme started earlier, some of them might well have returned to freedom with B.A.'s and B.Sc.'s to their credit.

The "peak" of our civilized life in internment was reached in entertainment. Plays were occasionally written by internees ; most plays, even if not so written, needed drastic adaptation. The Christmas pantomimes were composed, both score and libretto, by the same

home talent. There were also concerts of classical music and jazz ; these two sections of artists being, both behind barbed wire as outside it, often at musical loggerheads. Here again, confined circumstances brought problems. The various performers had to find some room or corner where they could practise ; there were not sufficient corners to go round : the result at times—disputes and quarrels.

The various linguistic qualities of the internees provided some incidental amusement. One individual had come originally from Jamaica, but he had lived over half a century in Germany. Now brought into a camp where English was the prevailing tongue, he had great difficulty in expressing himself in one language. Thus was evolved a curious speech, commonly known as the *Beidesprache*. Here are a few examples. One day the queue for hot water was too long for the amount of water available ; the tail end of the queue was still loudly demanding its cup of tea. In charge of the hot water issue was this gentleman from Jamaica. For once he lost his patience and shouted out : "Some *Leute* can't take *Nein* for an *Antwort*." The conveniences of this jargon soon had a wide appeal. You might hear sentences like the following : "Can't some *Engländer* make the *Fenster zu* ?" or "Isn't it *Zeit* to put the *Schwarzaus* up ?"¹

One of the few outlets for younger internees was sport. It was roughly improvised ; luckily, football can be so provided, if only a patch of ground, of reasonable size is available. Later, we succeeded in having a kind of "tennis." The court was of gravel ; the net made from the strings of Red Cross parcels ; to use this string special leave had to be obtained from the German Commandant, for normally the use of string was strictly taboo. The rackets were cut out of packing cases in which Red Cross parcels had arrived ; they resembled an enlarged table tennis bat. A few real tennis balls were supplied by the Y.M.C.A. Here it is interesting to recall that, at one period, the German papers complained bitterly that German prisoners of war in the United States were being seriously ill-treated ; the tennis lawns on which they had been playing were nearly worn through, and they had to endure the real indignity of playing tennis on bare earth.

Now for a few remarks on living conditions in the camps.

Accommodation. The sanitary arrangements were often shockingly bad. At one time there were only six w.c.'s for 1,200 men ; and these w.c.'s were frequently out of order. The water supply was poor. Winter sport enthusiasts told us that rubbing the face with snow was excellent for the complexion. We doubt whether our particular internees who had to wash themselves with a handful of snow, when the water supply did not function or was, as on occasions, turned off deliberately for days on end in the winter, will agree with their diagnosis.

¹ i.e. "Some people can't take No for an answer" : "Can't some Englishman shut the window ?" : "Isn't it time to put up the blackout ?"

Heating. All over the Continent the problem of heating was acute during the war. It is not difficult to comprehend what it was like in an internment camp. One bucket of coal had often to last for a week, for both heating and cooking purposes. Not surprising therefore that, now and again, the furniture simply disappeared. Tables, stools, bed boards, vanished—into the room stove. There was the deuce to pay if the Germans found this out and could pin the crime down to one or two culprits. But the extra heat was worth the risk. A few days in a detention cell that would be reasonably heated were preferable to a freezing existence in draughty barracks.

Lighting. The rooms had, of course, to be blacked out. Occasionally, the black-out had been damaged or no black-out material was available. Then the Germans had a simple solution. They switched all lighting off from the mains, and we had to remain in darkness.

In general, it must be mentioned that the complete lack of privacy was one of the hardest things we had to put up with. Not one minute of the day or night was one really alone. But, surprisingly, the general health of the camp was remarkably good. This was just as well, since medicines, bandages, surgical instruments were very scarce. However, each camp had a special section for those who were too ill to compete in the wear and tear of ordinary internment life. For all of us, there were periodical medical examinations. But these were perfunctory. We merely filed past a German doctor whose normal verdict was that, with very few exceptions, all the internees were in the pink of condition. Minor ills, such as headaches, colds and attacks of biliousness were entirely ignored.

Food. We have previously given the ordinary bill of fare provided in these camps by the authorities. When, as happened occasionally, the camp received no subsidiary food stuffs of any kind, the weight of the men went down at an alarming rate. In such distressful periods, food was the one subject of conversation. On one occasion some new prisoners joined us, who had been previously in a camp in Belgium, where for several weeks they had received scarcely sufficient to keep body and soul together. A large cauldron of soup was being carried from the camp kitchen to the barrack room, when it was accidentally spilt. These prisoners went down on their hands and knees to lick the soup off the floorboards.

However, the picture was not often as pathetic as that. When Red Cross parcels arrived and were distributed—one parcel per week per man, as happened, thank God, for the greater part of the five years—there was great competition among our kitchen experts to produce a really appetising dish. And you may take it from us that these dishes were sometimes extremely palatable. Cooking utensils were a problem, and the ingenuity displayed in converting empty tins into frying pans, saucepans, kettles and teapots, was amazing. Contraptions for boiling water were very popular. There were all kinds ; some electrical,

but these had to be kept carefully out of sight of the Germans. They could not understand, for example, how the amount of electricity used in the camp by 500 men was double that required for a population of 15,000 in a near-by town.

These electric kettles were put together out of tins that originally contained "Klim." (Klim is a specially good dried milk prepared in Canada and it was sent in Red Cross parcels made up there). You attached one wire to the tin, and another to a tin plate immersed in the water inside it; and this would boil more than a pint of water in little more than a minute. From these invaluable tins our teapots also were elaborated. One was soldered on top of another (the bottom of the top one being knocked out)—incidentally, we even had electric soldering irons—and then a spout was fitted from a piece of metal. The final result was rather like a coffee pot, in figure. Handle and lid were constructed from pieces of odd metal. We succeeded also in making electric stoves for cooking. This was done by bribing German officials to bring in the necessary components—chocolates, cigarettes and soap were the best material for such a barter—and in one camp, where the Commander was lax in ordering searches of the internees' quarters, well nigh every bed was fitted with a reading lamp, while electric foot warmers were a popular supplement to the deficiency in normal heating. (It was in this camp that the consumption of electricity was so phenomenal.) Readers with some knowledge of electricity may wonder how the fuses stood up to this overloading. Well, frequently, they did not. We therefore resorted to the expedient of bridging the fuses. The result was that, on more than one occasion, the main cable from the neighbouring town was almost burnt through. How we escaped fire must remain a providential mystery.

At one period the Germans provided us with an unsavoury sort of fat which was intended to be consumed with our bread. At the time, we had supplies of excellent Red Cross butter or margarine. We employed this fat to help out our fuel ration. A tin would be filled with it. Several wicks manufactured from odd bits of suitable material were immersed in the fat. With this primitive apparatus it was possible to fry potatoes and provide water for the invaluable cup of tea. In due course these fat-lamps were brought to such a pitch of perfection that the wicks were made adjustable by turning a key—the key being that used normally to open sardine tins. Then the wicks burnt without producing either smoke or unpleasant smell. Where neither electricity nor fat were available, a cup of tea could be made very quickly by means of an instrument known as a "blower." It consisted of a small fan, worked by a geared transmission, the fuel being wood, cardboard or any combustible material that chanced to be about.

Escapes. Attempts at escape were frequent but few were completely

successful. In one case a young fellow simply walked out through the main gate in the company of certain ladies who had come to visit their husbands ; his woman's dress and make-up were so clever that the German guards were entirely deceived. When the Germans discovered this ruse, they reacted by forbidding any feminine clothing to be retained in the theatrical wardrobe or any make-up to be accessible to the internees. Many other restrictions were imposed as the result of escape attempts, and the Germans were only too delighted to use this excuse to the full. Thus, in the months before Germany's final collapse, it was not allowed to have in one's possession food for more than twenty-four hours. This meant that the distribution and consumption of Red Cross parcels was much more difficult ; it also meant frequent searches, and, whereas the Germans were honest on the whole in the control they exercised over Red Cross supplies, these regulations enabled them to obtain food and cigarettes for themselves, while they remained within the law by claiming they were after all confiscating what was beyond the regulation amount.

News. It will be readily understood that our appetite for news was insatiable, that letters from home were looked forward to with real eagerness, and that any scraps of British news reports were seized upon and sometimes elaborated to a ludicrous extent. As letters were rare events and we were surrounded by German report and propaganda, rumour flourished. It was a popular pastime to set some ridiculous rumour on its way and have the fun of hearing it, after it had made the round of the camp ; usually it returned in a guise that was hardly recognizable.

Fortunately, about the time of the invasion of Normandy, the parts of a wireless set were successfully smuggled into the camp, and a very efficient wireless was put together on which we could hear the B.B.C. news. One of us can well remember the extraordinary sensation of listening to the B.B.C. for the first time after several years. He was invited to the top of the building, to the room where the set was hidden. He was offered a comfortable chair (made, of course, from Red Cross-packing cases), given a cup of tea (made with our electric kettles), and smoking a Players cigarette, almost felt he was back home again. This wireless set, which survived many searches and was even transported safely from one camp to another, despite the thorough searchings which always accompanied the departure and arrival in internment camps, supplied us with the important item of news that the General in command of the German troops in Northern Italy, Styria and Carinthia (where our last internment camp was situated) had capitulated, The German Colonel in charge of our camp had no knowledge of this and therefore our Camp Senior decided to inform him of the fact, which the Colonel accepted with remarkably good grace. From that moment onwards, we could use our wireless set openly ; there were no more parades, no more searches. In fact, we effectively took control

of the camp. Instructions had previously been received to cover such a situation, and the senior British officer in the district officially took over command of the whole area from the Germans. It was an anomalous position since the Germans were armed whereas the British prisoners were not. Many of the Germans vanished during the days which followed; others remained at their posts, and did double or treble guard duty. We were glad enough of their presence. They were no longer there to prevent us leaving the camp but to stop other persons from entering. We had at the time a considerable stock of Red Cross parcels and in the district were some 30,000 Cossacks, no longer under the control of their German officers and not receiving any regular rations. They were shooting and looting in the neighbouring hills. Had they known of the supply of food within our camp, the consequences might have been decidedly unpleasant. For five days the internees gave themselves up to a well-earned holiday and to every kind of celebration. The British troops did not actually arrive in that district until May 9th, but, when they did, the welcome we gave them can be better imagined than described.

Aboard a troop transport on the journey home from Naples, we met a British soldier returning to England on leave. He had been with the troops who first occupied the area where our camp was situated. He told us how his meeting with civilians speaking English in that part of the country had made him feel at first rather suspicious but, when he was invited to tea and cakes and cigarettes with us, it gradually dawned upon him who we were. "That day," he added, "was the most pleasant in all my army life." For us too, it was the great day for which we had been longing for full five years.

LAURENCE DORN.
LESLIE DORN

SHORT NOTICE

Recluses were well known in the medieval Church, both in England and on the Continent. They made profession of obedience, chastity, and stability, i.e., steadfastness in the place where they were enclosed, which was usually a cell near a church. A good idea of their manner of life can be derived from a general knowledge of religious life together with a study of Rules drawn up for their guidance—for example, the *Ancren Riwele*, and Ailred of Rievaulx's *De Vita Eremitica*—and from official accounts of bequests to recluses and of ceremonies of enclosure. Mr. Francis D. S. Darwin's **The English Medieval Recluse** (S.P.C.K.: 6s. n) has some value from its use of a number of first-hand documents in descriptions of the recluse's purpose and manner of life: but it is marred by a lack of understanding of the medieval Church and its doctrines and devotions, and by attempts at jokes ("Julian of Norwich who lived in the odour of sanctity and a local churchyard . . .") which would be out of place even if they were good.

THE BACKGROUND OF NEWMAN'S "IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY"

IN the *Advertisement* to the second part of the *Idea of a University* Newman remarks : " It has been the fortune of the author through life, that the Volumes which he has published have grown for the most part out of the duties which lay upon him, or out of the circumstances of the moment." That this occasional origin did not prevent his works from having lasting value of the highest order needs no emphasis. Nevertheless, at least in some cases, the immediate purpose led him to stress certain aspects of his theme to a degree which would not otherwise have been called for. It is important, therefore, in reading his works to-day to do so in the light of the events which urged him to take up his pen, so that the emphasis laid on different parts of his argument may not be accepted rigidly as a criterion of their respective permanent values.

This precaution is peculiarly necessary in the case of his *Idea of a University*. It was not composed in an atmosphere of philosophic calm, but in one of heated controversy as to the function of university education in the domain of both profane and sacred learning. Newman, therefore, was not concerned merely to compose a balanced synthesis of thought. His discourses had also to be a persuasive argument calculated to appeal to men already dominated by strong convictions, and frequently more swayed by the historical and personal associations of their ideas than by the ideas themselves. It follows that a knowledge of these prevailing convictions and of their historical background is necessary if we are to appraise rightly—as Newman himself would have appraised—the relative values of the considerations which he propounds.

In July 1845, just four months before Newman's reception into the Church, the Royal Assent was given to Peel's Act establishing the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. The Colleges were to be non-sectarian, in the sense of ignoring religion, and the scheme met with general opposition in Ireland. It was, however, a pillar of the High Church party in England, Sir Robert Inglis, member of Parliament for Oxford, who coined the famous epithet, " a gigantic scheme of godless education." The Queen's Colleges were condemned by a Rescript of Propaganda in 1847, and by the Irish bishops in the Synod of Thurles in 1850. The Synod, acting on the suggestion of Propaganda, decided to establish a Catholic University, and on April 5th, 1851, Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh and chairman of the University Committee, wrote to Newman at Birmingham, asking his advice about the matter,

and inviting him to "deliver a set of Lectures in Dublin against Mixed Education."¹

Newman willingly accepted the invitation. The main task of his life as an Anglican had been, as he records in the *Apologia* "the battle with liberalism," and by liberalism he understood "the anti-dogmatic principle, whether in the Church or the University."² The establishment of the Queen's Colleges he considered to be, as it actually was, a further manifestation of this spirit of indifferentism. Later, when he was formally invited to become Rector of the new Catholic University in Dublin, he was to write to Mrs. William Froude, "The battle there will be what it was in Oxford twenty years ago." And not only had the subject of religion in education been one of his main preoccupations, but in 1841 he had given a formal outline of his views in the letters to the *Times* on the Tamworth Reading Room, in which he had chastised Peel for his naïve laudation of physical science as an instrument of moral regeneration, and defended the theme that "Christianity, and nothing short of it, must be made the element and principle of all education."³

But though the theme was such a familiar and congenial one, there were special difficulties to be overcome in presenting it successfully to his Dublin audience. The project of the Catholic University had not met with whole-hearted approval even amongst Irish Catholics. Many of the educated laity had not grasped the magnitude of the issue at stake. Though loyal adherents of the Church, they could see no intrinsic connection between secular knowledge and religion. Some of the most prominent of them were graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, and the fact that their own faith had not suffered in the process seemed to them conclusive proof that the religious atmosphere of a university was a matter of indifference. Newman felt that the best line of approach to such minds was to propose a philosophical argument which would show that the attitude of the Church could be defended on grounds of pure reason. To Robert Ornsby, sub-editor of the *Tablet*, he wrote on April 14th, 1852: "I am going to treat the whole subject not on the assumption of Catholicism, but in the way of reasoning, and as men of all religions may do." The argument he relied on was the unity of truth, both in itself and as revealed to the human mind. "I assume, not only as incontrovertible, but as more or less confessed by all men, that the various sciences, which occupy the field of knowledge, have not mutual relations only, but run towards and

¹ Even at this date, it is perhaps well to emphasise that the opposition of the Church to "mixed education" arises from the fact that where persons of different religious beliefs are educated together, this can only be done by (a) ignoring religion altogether; (b) teaching religion and other subjects in water-tight compartments; or (c) diluting the religion taught to a lowest common factor of the beliefs of the persons concerned. In other words, the objection is not so much to the "mixing" as to its logical consequences. The term "neutral education" which is used in the Code of Canon Law as an alternative for "mixed education" is more expressive and less liable to misinterpretation.

² (Ed. 1910). Pp. 48, 57.

³ *Discussions and Arguments* (ed. 1911) IV. The Tamworth Reading Room. 3. p. 274.

into each other, and converge and approximate to a philosophical whole, whether we will it or not."¹

Adapting this general theme to the needs of those of his Dublin audience who were unconvinced of the need for religion in any scheme of studies, he devoted the first four of his Discourses to the now familiar argument that theology, being a part of truth, can no more be positively denied a place in a curriculum than any other subject of study, and that its exclusion inevitably leads to the usurpation of its place by some other science.² He did, indeed, remind his Catholic hearers that they had another and even greater argument in the authority of the Church,³ but the main body of these first four Discourses is devoted to the philosophical treatment. Newman was doubtless all the more willing to adopt this line of argument because it ensured to his work a wider appeal to "men of all religions," and because it provided him with an opportunity of making an eloquent case for the authoritative attitude of the Church.

But there was a second class of Dublin waverers to be convinced, namely the large body both of clergy and laity who were not fully alive to the value of university education in itself. In their minds, wrote Ornsby to Newman⁴, "the idea was wanting of the special studies of a university. The university to them only means a larger Clongowes or Stonyhurst." At best they looked on it as a training-ground for the professions, and at this period, only twenty years after Catholic Emancipation, comparatively few young Catholics looked towards the professions for a career, whilst two of the most popular, those of medicine and law, did not necessarily require a university course. It must also be recalled that the whole scheme bristled with difficulties. It had to be undertaken in opposition to the Government, and without recognition of its degrees. It had to rely for support on the voluntary contributions of an impoverished people, stunned by the horrors of the recent famine. Even under the most favourable circumstances, the creation of a university, the finding of professors of suitable calibre and the ensuring of a supply of students sufficient to guarantee success would have been serious tasks. Under the actual

¹ This passage occurs in Discourse VI of the first edition of the *Idea of a University* (dated 1852, actually published early in 1853). It is essential to study this edition in tracing the evolution of Newman's thought at the time when the Discourses were composed. He later made many changes, and omitted the 5th Discourse of the first edition. In the edition now commonly in use (1910), this passage is omitted, but the 5th Discourse (6th in the first edition) contains a very similar one (p. 99): "... all branches of knowledge are connected together, because the subject-matter of knowledge is intimately united in itself, as being the acts and the work of the Creator. Hence it is that the Sciences, into which our knowledge may be said to be cast, have multiplied bearings one on another, and an internal sympathy, and admit, or rather demand, comparison and adjustment."

² Of this line of reasoning an able modern writer has recently said: "The arguments of Newman's well-known lecture 'Theology a branch of knowledge' have never been answered, probably because they are unanswerable." Bruce Truscott, *Redbrick University*, Chapter VI, p. 175. 1943.

³ Discourse I (1852), p. 25. The passage beginning "After all Peter has spoken"; (1910), p. 13: "It is the decision of the Holy See; St. Peter has spoken."

⁴ April 16th, 1852.

circumstances, they might well be considered overwhelming. It was, therefore, comprehensible that those who could see in the university only a glorified secondary school or at best a somewhat easier approach to the professions, should think that the risks to be incurred were hardly to be compensated for by the possible advantages to be gained.

The task for Newman, therefore, in their regard was to open up a great vision of the intrinsic worth of university education so that they might consider it worth any risk or actual sacrifice, and it was at once apparent to him that the natural, in fact the inevitable, argument to be used was precisely that of the unity of truth which he had used to vindicate for theology its essential place in the scheme of knowledge. Truth being one, the highest form of knowledge is that which aims, as far as the limitations of the human intellect permit, at grasping it in a manner corresponding to its objective nature, "a comprehensive view of truth in all its branches, of the relation of science to science, of their mutual bearings, and their respective values."¹ This knowledge, which is commonly termed liberal, and which imparts "the clear, calm, accurate vision and comprehension of all things, as far as the finite mind can embrace them, each in its place, and with its own characteristics upon it,"² Newman conceived to be the primary purpose of university education. In the remaining discourses he expounded to his Dublin audience the value of this liberal knowledge in itself, its difference from and superiority to the mere amassing of facts, its value as a preparation for professional training and finally its value as an ally to religion.

It is obviously unnecessary to dwell in detail on Newman's eloquent exposition of this famous theme, which is familiar to every student of English literature. What is here to the point is to emphasise that, just as in the first four discourses Newman was not merely convincing his Dublin hearers of the irrational nature of the constitution of the Queen's Colleges but also summing up the controversy about religion in education which had been raging in his own country during the preceding half century, so in the second six discourses he was not merely revealing the intellectual benefits which would accrue to Irish Catholics from the proposed university, but also summing up the results of the other great controversy, that of the immediate purpose of university education, which had troubled academic circles in England during the same period, and was one of the chief concerns of the Royal Commission on Oxford studies, which published its findings in April, 1852, a month before the delivery of the first Dublin Discourse. In the 8th discourse³ Newman revives the memory of one of the chief battles of the campaign. From 1808 to 1811 a series of attacks on

¹ *Idea*; (1852), Disc. VI, p. 170; (1910), Disc. V, p. 103.

² *Idea*; (1852), Disc. VII, p. 219; (1910), Disc. VI., p. 139

³ 7th of the 1910 edition.

Oxford studies were launched in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* by various writers, of whom the most redoubtable was Sydney Smith. Two Oriel Fellows, Edward Copleston and John Davison, rallied to the defence of Oxford, the former in three pamphlets,¹ the latter in two articles in the *Quarterly Review*.¹

The curious point about this once-famous controversy is that both parties confined themselves, in the main, to one issue only, namely, whether a classical education was of any value. The *Edinburgh* writers relied on the now hackneyed argument that the classics are of no value in practical life, and thereby made it easy for the Oxford champions to take their stand on the fundamental ground that the immediate purpose of a university is to train the mind, and that this can best be done by classical training. By a classical training they understood, of course, classical in the wide sense, Greek and Latin being taught not merely as languages, to instruct in the correct use of words, but as repositories of history and philosophy, to instruct in the art of thinking. Ten years earlier, when the classics in Oxford had degenerated into mere language studies of a poor type, they might have felt qualms at taking up this attitude, but in view of the successful reforms instituted by Eveleigh, Parsons and Jackson, they felt confidence and even a degree of righteous indignation. It was universally conceded that they got by far the better of their adversaries on this comparatively favourable terrain, and Newman embodied in his discourses some of the most telling passages of Copleston and Davison.

But except in one short reference by Sydney Smith, neither side alluded to a great issue which was obviously linked with the question they were debating, namely the cultural value of a wide curriculum. The *Edinburgh* party were so enamoured of their argument from utility that it never occurred to them to point out that the classics were not the only subjects of cultural value, and that even granting that they were fundamental, additional mental culture could be obtained by the study of other subjects, whilst even professional subjects could have a cultural aspect. The Oxford party, concentrating on their defence of the classics, and conscious of the actual deficiencies of the Oxford curriculum (in which medicine had ceased to exist and law, science and mathematics were barely recognized), did not raise this issue, which it was left to the Commissions of 1850 and 1872 to deal with.

Newman clearly had the two great issues in mind. On the one hand, he quite evidently envisaged the university as covering, in fact, a wide field of knowledge. "In saying that Law or Medicine is not the end of a University course, I do not mean to imply that the University does not teach Law or Medicine. What indeed can it teach at

¹ *A Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford*, 1810. *A Second Reply to the Edinburgh Review*, 1810. *A Third Reply to the Edinburgh Review*, 1811.

² August, 1810. October, 1811.

all, if it does not teach something particular? It teaches *all* knowledge by teaching all *branches* of knowledge, and in no other way."¹ And this very breadth of its field of knowledge conduces to the fostering in the university of that liberal cast of mind which is its immediate end.

It is a great point then to enlarge the range of studies which a University professes, even for the sake of the students; and though they cannot pursue every subject which is open to them, they will be the gainers by living amongst those and under those who represent the full circle. This I conceive to be the advantage of a seat of universal learning, considered as a place of education. An assemblage of learned men, zealous for their own sciences, and rivals of each other, are brought by familiar intercourse and for the sake of intellectual peace, to adjust together the claims and relations of their respective subjects of investigation. . . . Thus is created a pure and clear atmosphere of thought, which the student also breathes, though in his own case he only pursues a few sciences out of the multitude. . . . He apprehends the great outlines of knowledge, the principles on which it rests, the scale of its parts, its lights and its shades, its great points and its little, as he otherwise cannot apprehend them. Hence it is that his education is called "Liberal." A habit of mind is formed which lasts through life, of which the attributes are, freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation, and wisdom; . . . This then I would assign as the special fruit of the education furnished at a University.² . . .

Indeed it is to be remarked that Newman has recently been taken to task by a not inconsiderable critic (and one who speaks of him with respect) for over-insistence on the actual breadth of curriculum of a university. In Mr. Truscott's book, already alluded to, is found the following passage:³

Many people talk of universities as if their name indicated that every kind of subject under the sun ought to be studied in them and they were places where knowledge in its most "universal" aspect should be sought, a college of the liberal arts and a technical and commercial school all rolled into one enormous whole. This is as erroneous a supposition as that the *studium generale* concerned itself only with knowledge of the most "general" kind and specialised in nothing. The "general" or "universal" concept underlying each of these terms has reference not to the subjects studied but to the people who

¹ *Idea*; (1852) Disc. VIII, pp. 256-257; (1910), Disc. VII, p. 166.

² *Idea*; (ed. 1910), p. 102. This passage does not occur in the first edition, and was added in 1859, when most of the changes were made. But it may be noted that already on Nov. 12th, 1851, a report had been submitted by Newman to the Irish bishops, outlining the organisation of the Catholic University, in which the scope of studies could hardly have been wider. There were to be four Faculties: 1. Arts, divided into Letters and Science; 2. Medicine; 3. Law; 4. Theology. The division of Letters was to include:—Latin, Greek, the Semitic and Modern Languages; History, Ancient and Modern, both National and Ecclesiastical; Archæology, Christian and Profane; English Literature and Criticism. The division of Science to include:—Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, including Economy and Politics; Philosophy of Religion; Mathematics; Natural Philosophy; Chemistry; Natural History; Mineralogy and Geology. Subsidiary to the Faculty of Arts should be organised a School of Engineering.

[The full text to be found in *My Campaign in Ireland*, a collection of documents edited by Fr. William Neville, of the Oratory. Aberdeen, 1896, pp. 77-78.]

³ *Redbrick University*. Chapter II, pp. 46-47.

study them. Those associations could be joined by anyone capable of profiting by them—i.e., without distinction of class, or age, or rank, or previous occupation—as they may still, with even fewer restrictions than of old. It is quite incorrect to think that every kind of subject should be studied at a university, and it is surely astonishing that Newman should not only have been so vague about the history of the word, but should have been so easily content to adopt the popular sense in which it is used and say "that a University should teach universal knowledge," asking

"What ought the term University to mean, but a place where every science is taught which is liberal, and at the same time useful to mankind?"

The reply to this criticism of Newman is threefold. Firstly, by the inclusion in his definition of the word "liberal" he completely excludes the idea of "a technical and commercial school." Secondly, Newman was not vague about the history of the word "university." At the end of the first edition of the *Idea of a University* there is an appendix of some eighty pages, in which Newman elucidates several points which he felt to need greater clarity. (It must be recalled that the *Idea* was written under great pressure both of time and circumstances). In this, numerous quotations are given from ancient and modern authors illustrative of the various meanings attached to the word "university." Newman considers that there is a divided opinion as to the original meaning, "some explaining it of a universality of studies, others of students."¹ He agrees, however, that the meaning put forward by Mr. Truscott was acquired early. "The word must soon have acquired the sense of universality of students, from the use of the word *Universitas* in civil law."² He is equally clear, however, that it also came to imply a "seat of all learning," but adds immediately, "in saying which I am not taking my stand upon the derivation of the word, but upon its recognized meaning, however it came to mean it."³ Nor is Newman "easily content" to accept this meaning, but adds two pages of authorities. He is not, of course, guilty of the absurdity of demanding that every university must literally teach every subject that has a liberal aspect. "Though I have spoken of a University as a place for cultivating all knowledge, yet this does not imply that in matter of fact a particular University might not be deficient in this or that branch, or that it might not give especial attention to one branch over the rest⁴; but only that all branches of knowledge were presupposed or implied, and none omitted on principle."⁵ But the passages earlier quoted show that he definitely held not only that an actual breadth of curriculum is essentially included in the common concept of a university, but that it conduces towards that liberal approach to knowledge which he held to be its primary aim.

¹ P. 381. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Newman is thus absolved from the view that a university "specialised in nothing."

⁵ P. 378.

Attention has been devoted to Mr. Truscott's criticisms of Newman not only because his book has had a wide circulation, but also because the answers to them serve to clear the ground for the consideration of the much more common criticism of Newman, namely that the education he envisaged was "academic" in the worst sense, and had no relation to real life. Such a view is not found amongst serious writers, but it is common enough amongst those who have only a passing knowledge of Newman's writings which has left them with a vague impression that he was chiefly concerned with the education of "gentlemen," whom they visualise as otiose youths, unburdened by the need of supporting themselves in after life.

In view of all that has been said, this criticism can now be dealt with very briefly. Newman certainly envisaged the university as a preparation for practical life.¹ He was prepared to go as far as possible in enlarging the scope of its studies and in making it a training ground for the professions. But he was perfectly clear that these considerations were secondary, and that the primary characteristic to be safeguarded was that broad, philosophical, liberal approach to all knowledge which would result in true mental culture. As has been seen, one of his immediate tasks in Dublin was to open the eyes of his hearers to the value of this mental culture, and he had also before his mind the fifty-year old controversy, still unsettled, between those of his own countrymen who shared his views and those who put training for the professions or even non-professional occupations in the foreground. This explains why his references to the secondary considerations are made almost as *obiter dicta*, whilst the primary consideration of mental culture so dominates his pages that a superficial reading gives the impression that, having established that such culture is an end in itself, he was prepared literally to make it the terminus of university education.

Space permits of only a brief allusion to another and cognate view of Newman which is liable to misinterpretation if judged apart from its historical background. It will be noted that all through his discourses Newman insists on the necessity for students of residence and the tutorial system.² He did not, of course, confine residence exclusively to colleges. With the whole history of continental universities before him, such a view would have been obviously untenable. In point of fact, in his Dublin university, extern students were permitted to live with parents and friends as in licensed boarding-houses, whilst evening classes, which led to a degree, were instituted for young men in business during the day.³ His real antagonism, therefore, was to

¹ *Idea*: (1852), Disc. X, p. 359; (1910), Disc. IX, p. 232. "For why do we educate, except to prepare for the world?"

² Cf. *Idea*: (1852), Disc. VII, p. 232; (1910), Disc. VI, p. 145, where he alludes to "a so-called University, which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects."

³ *My Campaign in Ireland*, p. 33.

the idea of a university as a mere examining body, as the quotation given in the footnote shows. But that he strongly favoured college residence is beyond doubt,¹ and it was the normal condition which he imposed on his Dublin undergraduates.² Apart from the question of moral guidance—which is outside the scope of this article—he looked upon the collegiate system as the most perfect method of securing that individual form of instruction which is commonly called tutorial and which he conceived to be essential for the imparting of a liberal culture.³

Here again he was touching on a living controversy. During the 18th century, the colleges at Oxford had completely usurped the teaching function, and it was one of the aims of the Commission of 1850 to restore to the professional body their proper status, and to give them a part in the government of the university. The evidence submitted to the Commission illustrates the divergence of views that existed, the professional party adducing the continental practice in support of their views, the college party pointing to their own long-established tradition, and attributing the abuses in continental universities, especially in Germany, to the overweening domination of the professors.⁴

That there is room for difference of opinion as to the merits of internal and external residence is obvious from the history of universities both in the old and new worlds. What is here to be emphasised is that in advocating internal residence, Newman was not merely blindly following the pattern of the university in which he had been educated, but was deliberately adopting it as best calculated, in his opinion, to foster that comprehensive assimilation of knowledge which was the central theme of his discourses and the avowed aim of his practical endeavours in Dublin. There are, indeed, grave considerations that could be adduced in favour of his view. Apart from the example of the two older English universities, he had before him that of some of the greatest of the continental universities in their heyday.⁵ It is also significant to note that the modern British uni-

¹ Cf. Appendix to first edition of *Idea*, p. 375. *Historical Sketches*, Vol. III, Ch. XVIII : "Colleges the Corrective of Universities."

² *My Campaign*, l.c.

³ Cf. *Historical Sketches*, Vol. III, Ch. XIX : "Abuses of the Colleges," p. 228 : "The University is for the Professor, and the College for the Tutor. The University is . . . for the sciences generally and their promulgation ; the College is . . . for the cultivation of the mind."

⁴ The history of this controversy is concisely given in Sir Charles Mallett's *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. III, Ch. XXV.

Pusey was one of the most vigorous protagonists of the tutorial system. His views were expressed at length in the *Report presented to the Hebdomadal Board on the Recommendations of the University Commissioners* (1853). Pusey goes so far as to object to giving to professors any power of supervision of studies on the ground that they are not "employed in education at all." His views, especially on the deficiencies of German universities, were criticised by Vaughan, the Regius Professor of Modern History, and Pusey replied in a pamphlet of 217 pages entitled *Collegiate and Professional Teaching and Education*.

⁵ In 1854 Newman was to publish in the *Catholic University Gazette* a series of articles on *The Office and Work of Universities*, afterwards published as *The Rise and Progress of Universities*,

versities are coming more and more to favour the establishment of residential halls for their undergraduates, a system which, though clearly distinguished from the collegiate system, nevertheless ensures some of its advantages.¹ The correctness, however, of Newman's views, is not so much the issue as their consistency.

The case is the same when we consider Newman's definite espousal of the tutorial system. That he was predisposed towards this system by his own experience as tutor of Oriel from 1826 to 1831 may be granted. But in the sources already quoted for his views on colleges will be found ample proof of his strong conviction that tutorial teaching was essential for the cultivation of the liberal mind. In the infant university in Dublin he was hampered by financial limitations, and hit on the plan of combining in one person the professional and tutorial functions. In the Report of the sub-committee already referred to (1851), he points out the advantages of this combination, and gives a balanced judgment of the merits of the two systems.² But again, we are not so much concerned here to defend his adoption of formal tutoring as to point out that his reason for its adoption was his preoccupation with the mental culture which he believed it to impart. Yet it may be added that all authorities on university education have acknowledged the value of a more personal form of instruction than can be imparted by formal lectures, and every type of university provides for it by way of seminars and tutorial classes, or the informal discussion by the professor in public or private of the work of individual students.

In his *Memoirs*³ Mark Pattison speaks of Newman's "magnificent ideal of a national institute, embracing and representing all knowledge, and making this knowledge its own end." He asks how this idea came to Newman during the twenty years between his Oriel tutorship and the Dublin Rectorship, and adds: "It required much time and enlargement for any of us, who were brought up under the old eight-book system of an Oxford College of 1830 to rise to the idea of a university in which every science should have its proper and appointed place."

The brief and necessarily inadequate sketch which has been given of the historical background of Newman's great work gives the answer, at least in large part, to Pattison's question. Newman's early life was cast in academic circles where the great problems involved were

in which he gives a detailed picture of the glories of the medieval colleges of Paris and Louvain, no less than of those of Oxford.

It is acknowledged that the home of the collegiate system was Oxford (Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I, Ch. V, sec. 5).

¹ Cf. Bruce Truscott: *Redbrick in these Vital Days* (1945), Chapter II, p. 50. Mr. Truscott quotes the Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University as saying that the University is anxious to accommodate all students for one year in a hostel, and a Report of the University of Leeds setting out "as an ultimate aim . . . for all students residence in a hall for at least three out of four years."

² *My Campaign*, p. 84.

³ Chapter II, p. 95.

not only subjects of constant discussion but had an intimate bearing on the life and work of himself and his associates. Very early he had formed his concept of liberal knowledge as the core of university training.¹ In his own well-loved Alma Mater he had seen certain abilities to foster it, but also certain great defects. He had heard all around him the murmurings, both within and without the university, which had led up to the Commission of 1850 and its far-reaching reforms. During all these years his studies of medieval history had given him an insight into the past glories of the great European universities and of Oxford itself, and in the newly resurrected university of Louvain, with whose scholarly Rector, Franz de Ram, he was in constant correspondence during the writing of his discourses, he had before his eyes a successful blending of the unchanging medieval ideals with the practical exigencies of a nineteenth century seat of learning. Finally, the invitation to Ireland and the immediate prospect of establishing a living university must have helped to sharpen still more the critical instrument of his mind, which must have profited also by contact with Irish prelates like Dr. Moriarty, Irish priests like Dr. Russell of Maynooth, and Irish laymen of the calibre of W. K. Sullivan, men whose continental training had widened their views, and whose intimate knowledge of a struggling people gave them a shrewd sense of the practical. All these varying influences contributed to the building up of that noble concept of the aims of a university which was in its day epoch-making, and whose influence, after the lapse of nearly a hundred years, can be detected in almost every serious work on higher education.²

This article has been confined mainly to the consideration of Newman's cultural aims, and has touched only in passing on his views as to the place of religion in education. It may, however, in conclusion be observed how fitting it was that one so acutely alive to the concatenation of the natural and the supernatural should receive the initial stimulus for his great work from the necessity for defending

¹ Cf. *Oxford University Sermons*, Sermon XIV: "Wisdom as contrasted with Faith and with Bigotry" (preached in 1831), ed. 1909, p. 291: "And therefore a philosophical cast of thought, or a comprehensive mind, or wisdom in conduct and policy, implies a connected view of the old with the new; an insight into the bearing and influence of each part upon every other; without which there is no whole, and could be no centre. It is the knowledge, not of things, but of their mutual relations. It is organised, and therefore living knowledge."

² Thus, in delivering the Terry Lectures at Yale University in 1943, M. Maritain generously acknowledges his debt to Newman, and in his fine passage on "The Architecture of an Ideal University" has the following reminiscent words: "The university . . . should teach universal knowledge, universal not only because all the parts of human knowledge would be represented in its architecture of teaching, but also because this very architecture would have been planned according to the qualitative and internal hierarchy of human knowledge, and because from the bottom to the top, the arts and sciences would have been grouped and organized according to their growing value in spiritual universality."

Whilst as to the domain of "useful arts and applied sciences" he gives the warning: "The reason for teaching such subjects in the university . . . must remain solely the universality of knowledge. The curriculum . . . must be directed only towards a sound and comprehensive organization of universal knowledge, to be taught according to the internal and objective structure of the parts thereof." (*Education at the Crossroads*. Yale and Oxford Univ. Press, 1943.)

religious education, and that he should have thus been led to elaborate an architectonic scheme which would cover in one broad sweep the whole range of human knowledge whether mundane or supra-mundane. In the later editions of the *Idea* he inserted a passage which pregnantly summed up his entire argument, and in which may be traced the fruits of the many and varied intellectual influences that have been here recorded :

Summing up what I have said, I lay it down that all knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one ; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit together, that we cannot separate off portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by a mental abstraction ; and then again as to its Creator, though He of course in His own Being is infinitely separate from it, and Theology has its own departments, towards which human knowledge has no relations, yet He has so implicated Himself with it, and taken it into His very bosom, by His presence in it, His providence over it, His impression upon it, and His influences through it, that we cannot truly or fully contemplate it without in some main aspects contemplating Him. Next, sciences are the results of that mental abstraction which I have spoken of, being the logical record of this or that aspect of the whole subject-matter of knowledge. As they all belong to one and the same circle of objects, they are one and all connected together ; as they are but aspects of things, they are severally incomplete in their relation to the things themselves, though complete in their own idea and for their own purposes ; on both accounts they at once need and subserve each other. And further, the comprehension of the bearings of one science on another, and the use of each to each, and the location and limitation and adjustment and due appreciation of them all, one with another, this belongs, I conceive, to a sort of science distinct from all of them, and in some sense a science of sciences, which is my own conception of what is meant by Philosophy, in the true sense of the word, and of a philosophical habit of mind, and which in these Discourses I shall call by that name.¹

FERGAL McGRATH.

¹ *Idea* (1910). Disc. II ; cf. (1852), Disc. VI, p. 170 ; (1910), Disc. V, p. 102 (and elsewhere) "Liberal or Philosophical Knowledge."

EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 3,000 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in the "Month," if accepted.

Literary Communications, Exchanges, and Books for Review should be addressed to The Editor of "The Month," 114 Mount Street, London, W.1, and not to the Publishers : Business Communications to The Manager, Manresa Press, Roehampton, London, S.W.15.

PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF POLAND :

1939 to 1945

I WENT out to Poland in the autumn of 1935 with the intention of staying there one year. I think the fact that I remained there for nine and a half years, viz. until March, 1945, speaks for itself, as to whether I liked the country or not. Certainly during the last five and a half years I could not have returned home and had to hide my English nationality from the Germans, but I could be 98 per cent. sure that no Pole would ever denounce me. There was tremendous enthusiasm for England and the English during the war, and a most touching faith and belief in them. It is one of the great tragedies of this war that this faith and belief have not been justified. From what I have read and heard over there and since I arrived back, I can safely say that there was less collaboration and co-operation with the Germans in Poland than in any other of the occupied countries. Yet the first great trial after the war was not the trial of German war criminals but the trial of the Polish Resistance Movement. I have had a lot to do with these people during the war, who are now condemned as "traitors," "Fascists" and "collaborationists" and I know that they fought only against the Germans and that their activities were directly helpful to the Red Army.

From the time that the Germans entered Poland until this very day, terror has reigned there. At the beginning, the arrests were carried out silently and quietly. I have just been reading the letter of a girl who, in 1940, at the age of thirteen, was arrested with her mother, aunt, two brothers, and many other persons, for work in a secret organization. Her two brothers were shot; her mother is probably dead; of her aunt she knows nothing. She has herself lived for over five years in German prisons and concentration camps (she was in Ravensbruck), expecting daily to be shot. She experienced all the horrors of those camps of which people here in England do not yet know even the quarter, though their eyes have finally been opened to something, at least, of what the people of the occupied countries endured and they now remember that Poland was the very first country to be occupied and one of the most severely treated. There were no Quislings in Poland to play the German game. The people of Poland refused to co-operate with the Germans. Poland has a magnificent record at home and abroad. Dare we ask ourselves this question: What is now her reward?

From the spring of 1940, we had street round-ups. Walking along the street, you would suddenly find that the street was surrounded by

policemen, and every man, woman and child would be taken off, just as they stood, to labour or concentration camps ; in summer, they were even taken from the very beaches where they were bathing. At the beginning, they released you if you had an *Arbeitskarte*, i.e., a card to show that you were working, but later they just took all documents, tore them up, and said : " You have no papers, so we have the 'right' to imprison you." That was very simple, and that was all.

Right from the start, the London Polish Government had its delegates in the country and military organizations were formed. The Polish civil administration also tried to save the morale of the people. The Germans allowed only elementary education. " Underground," the children took their matriculation examinations and received their certificates which were afterwards confirmed by the Polish authorities in London. Some university courses were also carried on " underground " ; English, by the way, was a very popular subject. Many professors and students were caught and punished severely, but the work went on.

The number of persons shot or murdered in still more terrible fashion in the prisons and concentration camps may be counted in millions. In October, 1943, they began the street executions when from 30 to 200 men and boys, and sometimes women, were brought out and shot publicly. I have the account of two such executions from a friend of mine, opposite whose flat in Leszno Street they took place. The first time, there were 15 men and 15 boys, the latter from 12 to 16. They had their lips sealed with plaster of Paris, stood there barefoot in their underclothes (though it was January), and were shot in the head with machine guns from the opposite side of the road. Before the Germans again shot any who were not quite dead, they kicked them, laughing and joking all the time. Subsequently, a high Gestapo official came to view the bodies and congratulate the officer in command of the executioners. The firing squads were volunteers from the *S.S. Wehrmacht* and from the *Luftwaffe*. Afterwards, children, at terrible risk to themselves, used to trace crosses on the place where the execution had been carried out ; they would burn candles there and cover the spot with flowers.

In Warsaw they once hung 12 boys from a balcony in this same Leszno Street. But such public hangings were a very normal thing. After an act of sabotage on the railway they would hang railway men or the inhabitants of the nearest village.

I am writing about Warsaw because I lived there. In the West of Poland things were still worse. There the people were not allowed to speak Polish ; there were no Polish schools. Poles were not permitted to walk on the pavements, to travel by train or tram. The smuggling of food, the buying or selling of food on the Black Market was punishable by death, at the hands of the public headsman with his axe.

The food ration was so very small that we could live only thanks to the

Black Market. For instance, during the whole five and a half years of occupation, we got only 30 deka (less than three quarters of a pound) of melted butter. We lived mainly on potatoes and vegetable soups with a little horsemeat from time to time. Clothing was very scarce, only to be procured again through the Black Market. Peasants were allowed to keep a little for themselves when they handed over their produce, but the allowance was extremely small. It was only because of the good quality of pre-war Polish textiles that people managed to look at all decent and respectable. To venture on a personal note, the one jacket I have with me is made over from a suit of my husband's that was bought as far back as 1936. From September, 1944, until April, 1945, it was the only jacket I still possessed and had to be worn every day ; yet it kept a orderly and decent appearance.

Great numbers of priests and Protestant pastors were shot or taken to concentration camps, but all through they continued their work very bravely. Warsaw consists for the most part of large blocks of flats built round a central courtyard. In most of these courtyards a little altar was erected, around which the dwellers in the flats used to cluster every evening and hold a small service of their own. During the Warsaw Rising, in summer, 1944, in the house where I was, this service had to be held in the cellar as the courtyard was too exposed and dangerous.

The Polish Home Army fought all the time against the Germans : some of them, as organized bands in the woods, others in the towns. They carried out death sentences on specially dangerous Germans or on any Poles who worked in the German cause (these were very few in any case), but it was strictly forbidden for them to kill even Germans without express orders : the reprisals taken by the Germans were too frightful and cruel. There was a great deal of sabotage on the railways and, as the trains and transport were going towards the Russian front, this meant genuine and valuable Polish help for Russia. The Russians were assisted also because of the large number of troops which the Germans were compelled to maintain in Poland. Otherwise, these might have been active on the Eastern front. For instance, German policemen went about in Warsaw in patrols of 10 to 15, not the customary two.

I was in the Warsaw Rising in 1944, when the people of Warsaw were simply marvellous. The house where I was living was taken by the Germans on September 20th. It was no longer a large block of buildings but a heap of ruins. We had extinguished five fires, the last two with sand only, as there was no available water ; we had been bombed, shelled at intervals of ten seconds, and attacked with mine-throwers. Tanks, mortars, bombs, destroyed everything. Some of the people of Warsaw had been for seven weeks in the cellars. The German S.S. troops drove us out, permitting us to take nothing with us. Just in front of me they shot about 100 men, women and children. Eventually, they drove us to Pruszków. We had had no water for two days ; we

were allowed no food ; for ten kilometres we walked through Warsaw and saw about twelve houses still standing intact. On the way to Pruszków we pulled up beetroots from a field, from the allotments of Mokotów, to suck the juice.

The transit camp in Pruszków consisted of railway workshops ; there were some cold water taps but no sanitary arrangements whatsoever. The food amounted to one quarter of a loaf of black bread and some tomatoes, when we came into the camp in the morning, and some soup in the middle of the day, if you could find a receptacle in which to receive it ; that was all. In this camp the people were sorted out and taken to Germany for forced labour or to concentration camps. I was lucky enough to escape after one day, with the help of a Polish nurse.

One item now leaps to my mind. In February of this year I was near Lodz. When the Germans retreated, they burnt down the prison, with its 2,600 inmates ; most of these had been previously nailed to the prison walls, and their mouths sealed. A few succeeded in jumping into a tank and escaping—just seven of them in all.

It would be easy for me to continue telling this ghastly story in ever greater detail and with any number of incidents. Surely enough has been said to make you realise what the Polish people suffered from the Germans and how absurd it is to pretend that there could be pro-Germans among them. You can imagine with what joy and readiness they welcomed the army that liberated them and their country.

But—alas—this "liberation" is only yet another occupation, even worse, it must honestly be stated, than that of the German armies. When I came away from Poland in March of this year, there was a popular slogan, to this effect : "We have survived five and a half years of occupation ; surely we can survive one year of liberation."

The Russians loot and rape at their pleasure. They are taking to Russia the machines from Polish factories. It was not permitted to have a wireless set. One could listen only to the megaphones in the street. It is no longer possible to correspond with persons abroad. Under the German occupation you could write to a friend in a neutral country ; under the occupation of an "ally" this has been rendered impossible. And woe betide any Pole who should venture even to write such a letter. Correspondence within Poland is strictly limited. The press is controlled by what is a minority in Poland and an alien influence. Printing presses and even sewing machines have all been confiscated. There is even less food than under the German régime as the Red Army is living literally on the land. Recently, in Lublin, 150 kilos of butter had to be handed in by the town as a quota for the so-called "Polish" Army, and 2,500 kilos for the Russian troops. Livestock are practically non-existent. What the Germans did not drive away with them, have been confiscated or handed over as an enforced quota.

When the self-styled "Provisional Government" of Communists was set up, it changed the Polish currency. One could change only 500 zlotys, and only once, not every month. A loaf of bread cost 100 zlotys, when I left Poland in March, and there had been nothing at all on the ration cards for seven weeks. The Polish people were selling what clothes they had left—for food. Salaries were ridiculous. For example, 1,200 zlotys per month is a high salary, yet fat now costs 650 zlotys a kilo. Russian propaganda films are shown in all the cinemas. There now exists a "Polish" Army of boys, forcibly conscripted; no Pole can have a rank higher than that of Captain; all senior officers are from the Red Army. There is a special Political educational officer, a Russian, attached to each company.

Most tragic and ghastly of all are the arrests and deportations. Those most affected when I came away from Poland were the members of the Home Army, the men and women who have fought so long and so magnificently against the Germans. In the East they came from "underground" to "overground" to meet the Russian armies and to assist them. They fought for Wilno, for Lwów, for Lublin; but, as soon as these towns were captured, they were arrested and deported. No wonder that subsequently other members of the Home Army remained "underground." Judges, lawyers, doctors, landed proprietors, members of the upper classes were disappearing every day. Peasants also were being deported to Russia. I met two such transports myself; the conditions in which they were travelling were terrible. The prisons to-day are fuller and more crowded with Polish patriots than they were, even in the worst period of German occupation.

So this is Poland's reward for her years of grim suffering. The conditions are growing daily worse and worse. The soldiers who have fought for the freedom of their country for so many years have no country to go to, and have no news of their families. U.N.R.R.A. and the International Red Cross are not yet allowed to go into Poland. Let us face this terrible, yet undoubted fact. We, the people of a supposedly Christian country, have handed over into slavery a Christian ally, which has fought with us from the very beginning, and that fought with us when our other allies, for the most part, were either neutral or our active enemies.

EILEEN F. SHORT.

SHORT NOTICE

From the Catholic Writers' Movement in New Zealand come a handful of pamphlets (price: 3d. n.). The first is a general review of modern secularist books, showing considerable acquaintance with the subject, and called *Catholic Writers and Readers*. A second, by J. C. Reid, provides an appreciation of Gerard Manley Hopkins, in small compass. A third reproduces an article from "The Mirror" on *Despotie Money Control*, by H. J. Kelliher, who for six years was a director of the Bank of New Zealand.

THE MANTLE OF MERCIER

CARDINAL VAN ROEY AND THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF BELGIUM

IN 1919, shortly after the liberation of Belgium, an official account of the dealings of Cardinal Mercier with the German occupying authorities was made public. The documents were collected and edited by F. Mayence in *La Correspondance de S. E. Le Cardinal Mercier avec le Gouvernement Général allemand pendant l'Occupation, 1914-1918*; they were published by Dewit of Brussels. Cardinal Mercier was a grand national figure as well as a very distinguished Prince of the Catholic Church. Throughout the war, he had remained with his people, guiding and inspiring them, pleading their cause and insisting strongly on their human rights with the German authorities. In the eyes of the Western world, the Cardinal was a flaming symbol of the struggle of truth against falsity, of Right in the face of overweening Might, of courage in the teeth of injustice and oppression. Together with the Belgian king, Albert, he shared the admiration, as he had every title to the gratitude, of the Belgian people.

There has just reached us a similar collection of documents, in a detailed and highly illuminating setting, from the present Cardinal of Belgium, Joseph van Roey.¹ It is a large volume, of generous proportions, and more than 350 pages. But it is invaluable for anyone who would seriously assess war-time conditions and problems in Belgium.

The book opens graphically with the German onslaught, which began on May 10th, 1940. Seven days afterwards, German troops entered Malines, the Cardinal's city. Major-General Criebbel appeared at the Hôtel de Ville to take possession of the city and to assure the population that it had nothing to fear, if it remained calm and obedient. With this assurance was coupled the warning that hostages would be taken, should any violence be shown to the occupying forces. For the time being, gas and electricity failed; the Cardinal and his citizens were effectively cut off from the outside world. After some days, these services were restored, and, on May 28th, the Cardinal heard, over the French radio, the announcement of M. Paul Reynaud that France could no longer rely on the assistance of the Belgian Army, and the accusation that Belgium's forces had capitulated without letting

¹ *Le Cardinal van Roey et l'Occupation allemande en Belgique; Actes et Documents Publiés par le Chanoine Leclef*. Editions Goemaere, 1945. Canon Leclef succeeded Canon Van der Elst as His Eminence's principal secretary. Not all the possible documents are reproduced here. Some were lost owing to the need to escape German perquisition; others through air-raids. On much Catholic activity in occupied Belgium no documents are available. Whatever had to be transmitted was given orally. This is particularly true of Catholic youth work and of the various societies of Catholic Action which maintained their activities and purposes throughout the war.

their allies know that they were about to conclude an armistice. M. Reynaud laid the blame on the Belgian king.

On May 31st, the Cardinal was able to interview the king, though permission to do so had first to be obtained from Berlin. He was with the king for an hour and a half. The king showed him copies of orders sent to the troops on May 23rd and 28th, copies of letters despatched to the Pope and to the President of the United States, and a copy, also, of a consultation with three eminent Belgian jurists—MM. Hayoit de Termicourt, General Advocate at the Cour de Cassation, Pholien and Devèze; all three jurists had justified the king's action from the constitutional point of view.

On Sunday, June 2nd, a pastoral letter of the Cardinal was read in all Belgian churches. It was important then; it is equally significant now, after the political crisis in Belgium with regard to King Leopold. The letter gave, first of all, a report of the Cardinal's interview. The decision taken on May 28th to ask for an armistice, the king had assured him, was absolutely necessary; the situation of the Belgian Army had become untenable; it would have been annihilated, and have involved in its ruin the destruction of a large part of the civilian population in the areas where it was fighting; this decision was taken by the king as Commander-in-Chief, with the full approval of his Chief of Staff who had furthermore recommended this very step. The king declared that he was acting fully within his constitutional rights as military commander; he had committed himself to no political measure, to no treaty nor arrangement in favour of the enemy. There was no infringement of the Constitution. In any case, it had been impossible to get into contact with his ministers; the last four of them had abandoned Belgian soil on May 25th. It was untrue to say, the pastoral continued, that the British and French had not been informed.

At the last moment the king, as many of his advisers urged upon him, might have taken an aeroplane and left Belgium for a foreign country. He has preferred to share the lot of his soldiers and the trials of his own people. This we find a great act of genuine chivalry and wholly to his honour.¹

The pastoral's interpretation was later confirmed. In the first place, by a letter from the Belgian Chief of Staff, Major-General Michiels. On June 1st, 1940, he wrote, in an *Aperçu Sommaire des Opérations*, that the Belgian Army had literally reached the limit of all organized resistance. He added that the Allied authorities, both civilian and military, had been warned of the critical situation of the Belgian forces and assured that they would hold out as long as was humanly possible. That, he asserted, was done. Later, in June, 1941, Sir Roger Keyes, who had been acting as liaison officer to the Belgian king, wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*, that, on the afternoon of

¹ This pastoral letter is from *Collectio Epistolarum Pastoralium*. T.III. no. 121. Pp. 473-475.

May 27th, the king told him, and also the British and French missions at Belgian Headquarters, that he intended to ask for an armistice at midnight, in order to spare his people further and unavailing massacre. The testimony of the U.S. military attaché for Belgium and Luxembourg, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Duncan Brown, confirms the king's judgment of the situation. Writing on October 31st, 1940, he stated that the king's decision to capitulate on May 28th was the only sensible decision he could possibly have made under the terrible circumstances. "Those who criticise his action, have never seen the battles in Belgium, nor the power of the German air force. I have personally seen both of them."¹

To return to Cardinal van Roey. In the early months of the German occupation various problems presented themselves. Later, they were to become more violent and acute. The atmosphere was naturally trying, stifling even. All Belgians of mature age had been through it once before; they knew how its tempo might accelerate, its violence and harshness increase. The Cardinal adopted an attitude of personal reserve. He was compelled to maintain official relations with the occupying authorities. But he never once met General von Falkenhäusen, the military Governor of Northern France and Belgium, nor did he meet his civilian successor, the Gauleiter Grohe.

His early activities were concerned with the immediate problems created by the German invasion. Churches had been destroyed. He visited their towns and villages, although his own motor-car had been confiscated. In his own diocese, 19 parish churches had been completely destroyed; 17 were in partial ruin; and more than 20 severely damaged. Next, there was the problem of the Belgians evacuated southwards during hostilities. At the end of May, about 90,000 men and youths, coming from the Centres de Recrutement de l'Armée Belge were concentrated in the French departments of the Haute-Garonne, Hérault and Gard. Hundreds of thousands of Belgian civilians were in West and Central France. In an address of July, 1940, M. Pierlot, the Belgian Premier, estimated that two million Belgians were away from their homes. Conditions in France were, in certain instances, highly unsatisfactory. To France the Cardinal sent Canon Cruysbergh, chief chaplain of the Flemish Catholic Youth Movement, and Canon Cardyn, principal chaplain of J.O.C. Together, they organized the repatriation of the young Belgian recruits from the C.R.A.B. dépôts, and also of what were known as *les faux crabs*, those young Belgians who had found shelter individually and were receiving the modest stipend for refugees, namely ten francs a day.

There arose shortly a *crise de conscience*. The German official paper—*Verordnungsblatt*—for July 25th, 1940, contained an order that no Belgian who had left the country could resume professional activities

¹ Op. cit., p. 25.

without permission from the German military authorities. This was made applicable to the teaching staff of the Catholic University of Louvain. The *Moniteur Belge*, of September 11th, stated that members of the Louvain University staff who, after May 9th, had been abroad, would have to furnish information to a tribunal of three persons about the place and length of stay abroad, the activities there pursued, and the time and conditions of return to Belgium. On September 17th, the German authorities informed the University that they reserved the right to approve of all new teaching appointments. In October, the Cardinal wrote to General von Falkenhausen, explaining the special position of Louvain as a free University, under the supervision of the Holy See. Actually, Louvain ignored the new provisions; it never submitted the name of any new professor. On November 7th, the University was asked to invite German professors to give lectures. Four days later, the Rector replied:

While we recognize the great value of an interchange of University professors, I consider that we must restrict this interchange to happier times when, as before the war, national frontiers can be freely opened to a genuine collaboration between intellectual representatives of different peoples. Since the outbreak of war, that is since September, 1939, the Senate of the University has decided to suspend all interchange of professors. This decision of ours was communicated to groups of French, Italian and Spanish professors.

Another difficulty soon raised its head, as it had done during the war of 1914-1918, when an energetic protest of Cardinal Mercier had put a stop to it. On July 20th, 1940, two German chaplains asked the Cardinal for permission to make use of Catholic churches for German Protestant services, where no Protestant church was available. The Cardinal refused, saying that he could not grant such a permission and, even if he could, he would most certainly not do so, since it would outrage the religious feelings of the Belgian people. They must find rooms and halls elsewhere. From time to time, he received information of attempts on the part of local commanders to bully priests into lending their churches. Usually, a protest from the Cardinal was sufficient to deter the local authorities. However, on November 5th, 1940, he was informed that the churches at Hal and Tubize had been forcibly requisitioned. The Cardinal wrote at once to the local clergy, ordering a service of reparation on the following Sunday, and asking that the faithful might attend in great numbers. His letter was read from the pulpit in both churches. Gradually, the German authorities abandoned the attempt.

In addition, there was the problem of the small number of Belgians who associated themselves with the Germans. These were either Rexists or members of the *Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond* (V.N.V.), the Flemish National Movement.¹ They now controlled the Belgian

¹ Before the war, the Cardinal had spoken strongly against both the Rexist movement and the V.N.V. c.f. *Au Service de l'Eglise*. T.III, pp. 16-7, and p. 126. Also *Collectio Epistolarum Pastoralium*. T.II, n. 74, p. 399: n. 86, pp. 629-632.

press and radio. *Le Pays Réel*, the paper of Léon Degrelle, leader of the Rexists, now re-appeared, with many attacks on the Belgian clergy. On December 8th, 1940, it contained an article with the title of *Sermons Politiques*. This was an old Nazi dodge. You tried to frighten your Catholics with the bogey of "political Catholicism."

"What," wrote M. Degrelle, "the clergy has no Catholic press now issued under its directives; its various works are in abeyance; it has only left to it one precious quarter of an hour on Sunday mornings to reach its faithful. Under such conditions, can you possibly imagine that a true and genuine priest would waste these valuable minutes in raising passions and hatreds in his audience?"

"And yet this is what actually occurs in innumerable localities, where the priests appear to be more pre-occupied, on Sunday mornings, with the proclamations of Mr. Churchill than with the Gospel of the Sunday. . . .

"These immoderate sermons, these constant excursions into political questions, these insults offered to Hitler and Germany (though their vulgarity can do no harm to anybody but the Belgians), this use of religious freedom for such purposes of provocation, this spirit and atmosphere of rebellion—all this we consider to be absolutely intolerable."

This is the kind of abuse which appeared in German-occupied Belgium, from the pens of M. Degrelle and his like. It is an admirable tribute to Belgium's Catholic clergy.

It is time to pass to a consideration of some of the major issues which occupied the attention of Cardinal van Roey and the Belgian clergy during the four years of occupation.

One of them rose out of the existence of these pro-Nazi bodies. On May 20th, 1941, occurred the anniversary of the execution of Joris van Severen, who had been the leader of the *Dinaso* movement (*Dietsch Nationaal Socialist* or Flemish National Socialist). The small groups of Belgian pro-Nazis wanted church services, on a demonstrative scale. This was denied them by the Cardinal. The press, controlled by these insignificant bodies, attacked the clergy. *Le Pays Réel*, for May 18th, declared that:

The total lack of understanding on the part of the Church in Belgium of the realities of to-day makes us realise that it will be extremely difficult to establish any proper balance between Church and State and that, in the realm of education, for instance, as also in the sphere of youth activity, the totalitarian State of to-morrow will have to exercise its monopoly with much greater firmness than was originally intended.

A week later, the same journal had an article from V. Matthys, which spoke of "l'attitude des canailles ensoutanées." On June 8th, one of the leaders of the V.N.V., by name Deckmijn, made a speech that was reproduced in *De Nationaalsocialist*, for June 14th, and included the following threat:

Your Eminence and My Lords of the hierarchy, we shall crush without the slightest pity all those who get in the way of our advanc-

ing nation. If we cannot do this gently, we shall do it without any pretence of gentleness, whatever your purple and your high dignities may choose to think about it.

These small pro-Nazi groups tried to make capital out of funeral services for Flemish and Walloon legionaries who had been killed fighting on the Eastern front. One case was that of Raymond Tollen-aere, commandant of the Flemish Black Brigade, killed in action on January 21st, 1942. A month later, the Cardinal received a letter, asking for an elaborate funeral service in the parish church of Schoten. The Cardinal replied that funeral services might be held privately in the parish church of the deceased, but that elaborate services, organized by the V.N.V., could not be tolerated; no religious service might be made the occasion of political demonstrations. Priests were instructed that they must refuse to officiate at such services, if legionaries attended in uniform or attempted to form a guard of honour at the catafalque. The puppet press reacted violently. An article in *Le Pays Réel*, for April 14th, 1942, accused the Belgian Catholic clergy of being the most "political," the most stupid, and the most devoid of any real spiritual sentiments in the whole world. On April 17th, 1942, a funeral Mass had been arranged in the church of Braine-l'Alleud. The local dean arrived to discover a guard of honour of German soldiers waiting near the catafalque. He refused accordingly to celebrate Mass. He was imprisoned for two and half months and then exiled from his parish.

What particularly annoyed the German authorities and the pro-Nazi groups in Belgium was the spontaneous outburst of grief for Allied airmen who died on Belgian soil. For the repose of their souls Masses were said and attended by large congregations. A letter from General Reeder, chief of the German *Militärverwaltung* in Belgium, to the Cardinal, dated July 21st, 1941, voiced a strong protest against such spontaneous manifestations. The letter included this remark:

It is evident that these soldiers, fallen in combat for their country, deserve—even from the German point of view—all the esteem due to a fighting enemy. But it is also clear that the celebration of Masses for these soldiers, who may very well not have belonged to the Catholic Church at all, has not taken place solely in this religious spirit but has assumed the character of a manifestation of anti-German feeling.

Behind all these facts and features of opposition to the Germans was the steady attitude of Cardinal van Roey. Again and again, when various matters were brought to his notice, he wrote sharp letters of protest to the German authorities. Occasionally, he stepped into the foreground, as in the crucial matter of forced labour for Germany. Even in 1941 Belgian workers had been recruited for the Reich. The German authorities explained the necessity of Sunday labour in Belgium and the need for Belgian labour in Germany, on the grounds that Germany was defending European civilization. To this sugges-

tion, the Cardinal's answer was masterly. Its date is June 5th, 1942, and here are some passages from it :

In the first place, you refer to our attitude towards Germany's war with Russia.¹ You make it a reproach to the Belgian hierarchy that they have maintained silence, while Germany is engaged, with all her vital resources, in the struggle against Bolshevism, which, *according to you*, is a struggle for European civilisation and on behalf of Christianity.

Yet, our silence is perfectly explicable.

As Catholic bishops, we venture to ask you what an eventual victory of Germany would mean for the Catholic Church and for Christianity in Europe and consequently in Belgium. When we hear the thirty Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates in Germany, in their collective pastoral letter, issued from Fulda on June 26th, 1941, proclaim publicly : *Es geht um Sein oder Nichtsein des Christentums und der Kirche in Deutschland*²; when frequent documents of German bishops bring us regularly the expression of their deadly fears for the future of Catholicism and of the Christian faith in their own country, it is only natural that we should share their fears and apprehensions.

There, Your Excellency, you have the reasons which have dictated and still dictate our silence. It is not our business—at least so we understand it—to denounce a danger which is far-distant and problematical, when we see, at hand and close to us, very real and serious dangers which threaten, at one and the same time, our own homeland, the Catholic Church and Christianity—dangers which do not proceed from Russian Bolshevism.

The fact and contents of this letter became known to the people, to the annoyance of the German authorities. General Reeder threatened to impose a large fine on the bishops. An answer from the Cardinal (June 11th, 1942) pointed out to the General that, as the bishops had no resources of their own, they would, in the event of such a fine, have to appeal to the generosity of the Belgian Catholics and necessarily let them know what measures the German authorities were taking against the hierarchy. No more was heard about the fine.

Later in 1942, German pressure was increased. More Belgian workers were demanded for service in Germany. The *Verordnungsblatt*, of October 7th, 1942, declared that all Belgian men, from 18 to 50, and all unmarried women, from 21 to 35, were liable for conscription for labour in the German Reich. On October 25th, the Cardinal addressed another strongly worded protest to General von Falkenhausen. These new decrees, he insisted, were contrary to the agreement of the Hague Convention and were against every principle of humanity ; he reminded the General of the feelings of horror and indignation aroused in 1916-17 by a similar attempt to conscript Belgian labour. To this protest no direct reply was given, but the Cardinal's secretary was informed by General Reeder that further

¹ This letter, addressed to General von Falkenhausen, was signed by the Cardinal, in the name of all the Belgian bishops.

² I.e., "It is a question of the very existence or annihilation of Christianity and the Catholic Church in Germany."

correspondence was useless, and that the Cardinal's letter had been brought to the notice of Hitler, Göring and Gauleiter Sauckel. On December 13th, a joint pastoral letter was read in all Catholic churches. This spoke of the bishops' failure to secure relief or redress from the German authorities, and emphasized the particular duties of the faithful towards those called up for labour in Germany and towards their families and relatives. Meanwhile, the Cardinal had written to the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, asking that the Holy See might use its influence to have these decrees abolished or at least moderated. This volume of documents includes a number of letters which passed between the Cardinal of Malines and the Vatican. Cardinal Maglione's reply, dated February 2nd, 1943, contained this significant paragraph :

Following the delicate suggestion of Your Eminence, the Holy See would be only too ready to use its authority to assist you and others in the measures of intervention that have been taken. But, unfortunately, it is to be feared that this *démarche* of the Holy See (like many others it has made through the Nuncio in Berlin and the German Ambassador at the Vatican to improve the conditions of occupied countries)—it is sad for us to have to say this—would meet with not the slightest appreciation at the hands of the German Government.

A further protest, again from all the bishops of Belgium, was issued on March 15th, 1943. It included these paragraphs :

We are informed that these measures are necessary in order to protect -European civilisation. But don't talk of the defence of civilisation, but rather of destroying it, if you apply procedures which violate the essential principles of all civilisation.

Human reason and the Christian moral law condemn and stigmatize these wicked and barbarous proceedings. All collaboration in the carrying out of these measures is, in conscience, gravely illicit.

This uncompromising document brought about a rupture of all relations between the occupying authorities and the bishops. The only channel of communication was the publication of orders, addressed to the bishops, in official papers—which orders the bishops naturally ignored.

The effect of these episcopal protests on the morale of the Belgian people, and thus also on the morale of the occupying authorities, can be seen from the account of an interview, more than a month later, between General Reeder and the Cardinal's secretary, Canon Van der Elst. The General spoke as follows :

I must insist that this letter (the pastoral letter of March 15th) has had very serious political repercussions. Since its publication we have met with a considerable recrudescence of active resistance. The number of those who refuse to obey our orders has increased enormously. . . . The officials and civil servants say they have scruples and interfere with our work, pleading reasons of conscience ; the same thing is happening in the industrial and commercial worlds. We cannot tolerate this recrudescence, which is being provoked by the

Church. A man like the Cardinal, the second personage in the kingdom, ought to have foreseen that a gesture of this kind, made in the circumstances of to-day, was bound to have disturbing echoes of a political kind. We are obliged to adopt draconian measures, and the Cardinal is responsible for those measures.

Many other stories might be told, were there space to do so. For example, the fight of the Cardinal and the Rector of the University of Louvain against the conscription of students for forced labour; the personal intervention, time and time again, on behalf of prisoners and hostages, which had much success—many a Belgian civilian was released from the notorious concentration prison at Breendonck through the Cardinal's protests and intercessions; his struggle to save church property from being dismantled and used for purposes of war.

But two aspects need brief treatment. In the first place, the Cardinal did all he could to ameliorate the lot of the Jews, and, in individual cases, to assist them. As early as October 28th, 1940, measures were adopted against the Jews of Belgium. They were forced to display signs and boards showing that their businesses were Jewish; later, their bank accounts were blocked, their wireless sets confiscated, and a curfew imposed upon them, between 8 p.m. and 7 a.m. From May 27th, 1942, they were compelled to wear "the star of David" on their clothing; and were forbidden to practise as lawyers or doctors. Day after day, a contingent of Jews would arrive in Malines, in the Dossin barracks: they were ordered to bring rations for 15 days and a specific amount of clothing, and at intervals they were entrained for some unknown destination, presumably in Poland or the Ukraine. These documents give many instances of individual help and general protest, on the Cardinal's part.¹ But we can assess better what the Cardinal attempted and achieved by a glance at some of the words of gratitude offered by the Jews themselves. On December 29th, 1940, the Chief Rabbi of Belgium, Dr. Ullman, wrote to express his thanks for the Cardinal's intervention on behalf of the Jews of Antwerp. This letter concluded with the wish: "*Que le Tout-Puissant bénisse Votre Eminence et tous ceux qui travaillent à un meilleur avenir de l'humanité.*" Another letter, dated August 12th, 1942, from the Central Jewish Consistory of Belgium, declared: "*C'est avec émotion que le Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique prend la liberté de vous exprimer sa profonde gratitude pour la bienveillance et la sympathie manifestées par Votre Eminence à l'occasion des pénibles épreuves que subit en ce moment la population juive de notre cher pays.*" The Chief Rabbi, Dr. Ullman, was arrested and imprisoned in September, 1942, but was later freed through the intervention of the Cardinal. Re-arrested again in August, 1944, he gained his freedom when Brussels was liberated. One of his first actions, on being freed, was to call upon the Cardinal, to thank him again, in his own name and on behalf of his people, for all he had done for the Jews

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 229-236.

during the war. Canon Leclef quotes finally an extract from a letter of thanks, written to the Cardinal by a Jewish citizen of Brussels :

Eminence,

Nous voici enfin tous libérés. Je me permets de vous adresser mes plus chaleureuses félicitations et mes remerciements pour toute l'aide et le bien que vous avez fait aux Juifs persécutés. Grâce à vous et à votre clergé, des milliers de mes coreligionnaires ont pu se cacher et échapper ainsi aux horreurs des camps de concentration. En leur nom et en mon nom personnel, je vous dis un vibrant merci.

A second aspect of the Cardinal's intervention, which may well be of particular interest to the English reader, was that exercised on behalf of English nuns, arrested and imprisoned by the Germans. On April 3rd, 1941, the Superior General of the "Soeurs des Petits" came to see the Cardinal and announced that the Germans had arrested three English sisters. Canon Leclef was immediately despatched to Brussels where he discovered the sisters housed in 498 Avenue Louise, the headquarters of the Brussels Gestapo. He was given the assurance that the nuns would remain in Belgium and had been arrested only because the British police were arresting German women in England. The Cardinal wrote to General Reeder, asking for their liberation. On April 8th, two more English sisters were arrested, this time from the convent of the "Soeurs des Petits" in Antwerp, one of them being seriously ill. The Cardinal received an answer from General Reeder that these arrests were a measure of retaliation on account of the detention of German women in England but that the religious in question would not be sent away from Belgium. Less than a fortnight afterwards, the Superior received news that all five sisters had been transferred to Germany to the camp at Liebenau, in Würtemberg.¹

There was another case in 1942. In May, the Cardinal learnt that 23 English nuns had been interned in a camp at Beverloo, with about 125 other British and American subjects. The nuns belonged to 17 different convents, chiefly in Hainault and Limburg. The conditions under which they were held were extremely unpleasant. Through his secretary, the Cardinal arranged for their spiritual needs, by causing a chaplain to see that they had Mass or at least Holy Communion every day; through the Belgian Red Cross and the Swiss Consulate he bettered their material conditions. Strong protests to the German authorities brought the permission that the nuns would be released from internment, if they were settled all in the same convent and a guarantee were given that they would not be moved without further permission of the military authorities. The guarantee was given; and the nuns were placed together in a convent in the Avenue de Tervueren at Woluwe-Brussels. Actually, six of them were allowed to return to their own religious houses. Canon Leclef describes his

¹ The sick nun mentioned here, whose state of health was actually serious, returned to Antwerp in September, 1942; a second was permitted to return to Brussels, on May 19th, 1943; a third was repatriated to England, in August, 1944. The remaining two were still in Germany at the conclusion of hostilities.

journey from Beverloo to Brussels with the remaining 17; they travelled, he tells us, in railway compartments, with the label "Reserved for the Wehrmacht" on the windows, and the English nuns gave expression to their delight in regained freedom by singing God Save the King and an air, that the good Belgian canon entitled, with just one lapse of consonant, "Tiperary."

The concluding section of this valuable volume contains in full the various pastoral letters and addresses of the Cardinal during the war years. Many of them are eloquent and impressive documents, dealing with the attitude of the Catholic Church to the individual, the family, to society generally, and to the difficulties created by the German occupation. There shines out from them a clear light of Catholic conviction and a firm strength of Christian resolution. Writing early during the occupation, on October 7th, 1940, he reminded the Catholics of Belgium that,

Every citizen worthy of the name identifies his interests and his personal experiences with the interests and the fortunes of his country. He shares its trials, he laments its griefs and misfortunes, just as he longs for its prosperity and works for the preservation and enrichment of its patrimony of faith, of valour and of beauty.

From a conference delivered on July 19th, 1941, comes the following paragraph :

I cannot for a moment conceive that Divine Providence would permit the suppression of the Church throughout the whole of Europe, in this group of countries which forms the real foyer of Catholicism and has been the centre of Christian civilisation for nineteen centuries. Reflecting upon this theme, I cannot see how God would allow a régime of persecution, like that of National Socialism, to establish itself definitively in this country. And that is a grand motive for confidence in the outcome of the gigantic conflict of which we are, spectators.

Speaking on the Five Papal Peace Points, on August 29th, 1941, he declared :

As far as Belgium is concerned, this first condition of the genuine New Order includes the restoration of our country to its full independence and integrity. It will be the privilege of a free and sovereign Belgium, and of no one else, to decide what part it will play in the Europe that is to come.

Many other, and equally telling, quotations might be taken from these documents. Enough will have been selected, I hope, to show that the Cardinal of Belgium proved, through the difficult years of occupation and war, a pillar of strength and a source of encouragement to his much-tried countrymen. In these days of "denigration"—when the truth is readily forgotten or deeply concealed under tendentious lies—it is good to have emphasized all this. The mantle of Cardinal Mercier fell upon the shoulders of his successor, and it was worn with a like faith and sterling courage.

JOHN MURRAY.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

HOW HENRY VIII'S COUSIN NEARLY BECAME POPE

ON Friday, August 22nd, 1485, Richard III, last of the Plantagenets, lay dead on Bosworth Field. The crown he had worn in battle was picked up and placed on the head of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond.

It belonged by right to the late King's nephew, Edward, Earl of Warwick, and after him to his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV ; then to his sister Margaret.

The Welsh usurper hastened to legalise his claim to be called Henry VII by murdering Warwick and marrying Elizabeth. Later he gave Margaret in marriage to his son Arthur's tutor, Sir Richard Pole. It was of this union that Reginald, the future Cardinal, was born, a second cousin to Henry VIII with a strong claim to the throne—a relationship he and his family came to rue. Nearly all his kindred of two generations back had met violent deaths in the Wars of the Roses and soon his mother, brother and two cousins were to lose their lives at the hands of Henry VIII, their kinsman. Only by such blood-letting could Henry make his political and religious status secure.

Pole himself at first found favour with his royal cousin who helped him to continue at the University of Padua the studies he had begun at Sheen with the Carthusians and at Oxford. In 1527, after eight years abroad, he returned home, a scholar of repute, to find the King anxiously canvassing learned opinion on his matrimonial scruples. With his fine qualities of soul and mind and his important Continental connections Pole's prestige would prove invaluable to Henry and so when Wolsey died in November, 1530, he at once offered his 30-year-old cousin the Archbishopric of York, on the understanding, of course, that he would support the Royal Divorce.

It was a critical decision on which depended not merely a mitre, but possibly the personal safety of Pole, his mother and the whole of their family. During an interview at which Henry nearly lost his head and Pole his life, and later in writing, Pole argued soundly against the divorce on the grounds of political expediency. Henry seemed on the point of conviction, when Thomas Cromwell came forward with his idea of the Royal Supremacy. This put the whole affair on the plane of conscience and Pole, as an alternative to open opposition to the King, asked leave, which he eventually obtained, to go abroad. He was lucky to get it, but even now this life he longed for, study and meditation, was not to be his. The Pope, even more than the King, needed his learning and integrity for Paul III was about to launch the long-awaited Catholic reform. In 1536, he summoned Pole to Rome, made him accept a Cardinal's Hat and employed him as Legate to the Emperor Charles V and to Francis I of France in the vain hope that they might check Henry's headlong stampede into schism.

During the long patient years in which he prepared for the coming reform, Paul III made constant calls upon Pole's pious zeal and erudition and easily appointed him one of the presidents of the Council when Trent opened in

1545. The impression created on the Fathers by his deep learning and courteous chairmanship caused his name to spring to everyone's lips when his friend, Paul III, died on November 10th, 1549.

One of Paul III's last acts was to confer on his friend Pole the Abbacy of Gavello (Pole had refused the See of Spoleto) and as soon as the Pope was dead, the Romans, always keenly interested in the results of a Conclave, began to back their fancy for the Tiara and Pole's popularity with the speculators became obvious. "The wagers at the bankers' shops are 24 in favour of England, nor does any Cardinal get near him." Thus wrote Matteo Dandolo, the Venetian Ambassador, when telling the Doge of Paul's death. On November 30th, the day after the Conclave began, he wrote again: "At the bankers' shops, the odds are greater than before in favour of the Rt. Rev. of England, whose election, should it take place, may be believed to proceed from God; for although urged by many Cardinals to assist himself on this so great an occasion, he answered them that he would never utter one single word, even were his silence to cost him a thousand lives, not choosing to deviate from his ancient maxim, which enjoined him to follow the Lord God, and to desire nothing but His Will."

The Conclavist at Pole's side during the momentous election was his intimate friend and adviser, Thomas Goldwell, who in Mary Tudor's reign was to accompany Pole on his Legatine Mission to reconcile England to the Holy See. He then became Bishop of St. Asaph, escaped from Elizabeth's clutches after refusing to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy and died in Rome in 1585, the last of the old English Hierarchy.

Equipped with first hand information, this able and devoted secretary has left us a detailed account of the 61 scrutinies or ballots of the 72 days' conclave.

The Conclave was delayed for the arrival of the twelve French Cardinals, but by November 29th only six had arrived and, their Eminences growing impatient, the meeting began with 41 Cardinals present, which meant that 27 votes were required for the two-thirds majority needed for election to the Papacy. At the first ballot on December 3rd, Pole had 21 votes, more than anyone else. The next two days he rose to 24 which was actually the equivalent of 26, for Pole could have voted for himself and another Cardinal promised to vote for him if it would mean giving him the necessary majority. Within one vote of the Papacy! Everyone, both within and without the Conclave, regarded Pole's election as a foregone conclusion.

On December 4th the betting on Pole at the bankers' shops had gone up to 40 and the election was anticipated that day.

If Francis I of France had been alive, his personal knowledge and esteem of Pole would have given him the votes of the French Cardinals and the matter would have clinched, but his son Henry II was now engaged on a bitter struggle with England for the recovery of Boulogne, and wholeheartedly opposed the idea of an English Pope of whom he had no personal knowledge till four years later when he came to know and like Pole.

Therefore, at 4 p.m. on December 4th, the French Ambassador sent a protest to the Cardinals that unless they waited for their six French Colleagues, by now in Corsica, the King would not ratify or confirm the election of any Pope made in their absence.

The Emperor, Charles V, on the other hand gave his support to Pole on the curious grounds that election to the Papacy would be an effective way of keeping him away from England, as there had been a suggestion that Pole

should marry his cousin Mary Tudor and become King-Consort. Therefore, soon after the French Ambassador's protest, the Imperial Ambassador, Don Diego de Mendoza, sent a warning to the Cardinals that they must observe their own rules and regulations and not attend to anything else. "Whereupon at the Bankers' shops at the second hour of the night, England was at 80 and 30% was wagered that he (Pole) would be proclaimed in the morning. Salviati was at 1% and Sfondrato at 2%."

On the evening of the 5th, Cardinal Farnese, nephew of the late Pope, Paul III, who had been such a staunch friend of Pole, and leader of the group within the conclave who supported Pole, actually collected the necessary votes to give Pole a majority and went with another Cardinal to Pope's cell to announce his election and offer the customary homage or "adoration."

But Pole refused to have anything but a canonical election made by vote after Mass, saying "he did not want so great a matter, which he considered should be regarded with dread rather than with longing, to be conducted in a disorderly and ill-considered fashion, but in a regular and orderly manner; that night was not a fitting time for it; that God was the God of light, not of darkness; and therefore that the matter should be deferred till the following day; for then, if God so willed, they might arrive at a better decision."

This sublime indifference to ambition impressed his colleagues. "Reginald, firm as an oak, they used to say, was never moved either by hope of attaining, or by the fear of missing the Supreme Pontificate." At the same time, it sealed his own fate and Julius III, who was eventually chosen and who, incidentally, did not support Pole's election, used to say that he had received his august office from the hands, so to speak, of Cardinal Reginald alone.

When he heard of this, Matteo Dandolo, the Venetian Ambassador, wrote ruefully to the Doge that the Conclavists must be "in partnership with the bankers in the wagers which caused many thousands of crowns to change hands." He says that Pole's election is still considered probable, and in the betting he "remains at 40 nor is any other person whatever mentioned." Nevertheless he pointed out that the election would be very unpopular with the people "as they considered it certain that the whole of this court would have to lead a new life" and withdraw to their dioceses and benefices. This was a great tribute to Pole's known zeal for reform.

The morning after Pole refused the papacy by "adoration" his votes fell to 22. They rose to 24 next day and then for 3 days, the 9th, 10th and 11th, remained at 22.

On the 12th, the six French Cardinals arrived, making the number of Cardinals 47 and raising the 2/3rds majority to 31. The Imperialist Cardinals swore that they would die with 'Pole' on their lips and so he continued morning by morning to poll 23 votes apart from December 17th when he rose to 25 and the 23rd when he fell to 21.

On December 28th, four more Cardinals arrived for the Conclave and two left it ill, so that they were now 49, giving 33 votes needed for a majority. These numbers remained the same to the end. Pole's votes stayed at 23 till January 10th, 1550, when they dropped to 21, staying at that figure till February 7th.

While Pole's supporters remained constant, other Cardinals began to appear as serious rivals, Cardinals Guise, Bourbon, Morone, Sfondrato, de

Cupis, dean of the Sacred College, and Caraffa, who five years later was to become Paul IV.

At length on February 7th, after 60 fruitless ballots, the deadlock between Imperialists and French was brought to an end, as so often happened in the history of papal elections, by the two party leaders, Cardinal Farnese and Guise, agreeing to abandon their candidates, Pole and Caraffa, for a compromise candidate, Cardinal Giovanni del Monte, Pole's co-Legate at the opening of Trent in 1545, who on February 8th was unanimously elected Pope as Julius III. The sporting Dandolo, who had backed Pole all along, was staggered at this unlooked-for defeat of both favourites and wrote that "one single merchant . . . has made upwards of 20,000 crowns in wagers during the election." After the Conclave he called on Cardinals Guise and Farrara, who gave him a pleasant account of the Conclave. "Amongst other things, both parties lived so lovingly together, more as if they had been brothers, although opposed to each other in their object, and yet, during 72 days, there were 47 or 48 Cardinals assembled together, the like never having been heard of in any former conclave. It may, therefore, be hoped that the Lord was amongst them and that this election took place through the Holy Spirit, the consent having been sudden, general and unexpected; so that although the Cardinals were very tired, the election is nevertheless considered miraculous by everybody."

In a letter written the following June 17th, Pole corroborates this conscientious disinterestedness of the Cardinals "who had given their suffrages to the Christian republic and to the Church." He makes an interesting allusion to his reaction to the dramatic offer of election by homage on the night of December 5th. "When the two Cardinals came to my cell to proffer 'adoration,' I thought of the two disciples whom Our Lord sent to fetch the ass on which He meant to ride into the Holy City. So I listened to them . . . and would not have denied them, but for the night-time and its darkness. Was I right or not? I make no disputation, save that I could have no part in anything which night and darkness might render suspect. . . . Then came another two with the same authority, to show that they were not asking anything of me not customary and unlawful, but just. . . . Yet I prayed them to wait, and leave the issue to be proved by daylight. . . . And, as the event proved, the Lord did not require this particular ass."

He ends this letter expressing the hope that, throughout his life, he may find the same delight in renouncing honour. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the man who had the Cardinalate forced upon him by Paul III, and had already refused the Archbishopric of York and the Sees of Winchester, Salisbury and Spoleto. By temperament Pole was best suited to the life of studious retirement that he loved. Loyalty to his motherland and zeal for the souls of his countrymen cheated him of his desire and gave his life the single purpose of restoring England to the ancient faith—only in an effort to achieve this did he accept, in comparative old age, the honour of the priesthood and the Archbishopric of Canterbury—the last of the long line that began with St. Augustine. GORDON ALBION.

A NOTE FROM HOLLAND

WE have received the first few numbers of the new-born Dutch Jesuit periodical *Studiën*, which appeared in February of this year, when only one third of Holland was liberated. Immediately after the occupation

by the Germans, *Studiën* was subjected to strict censorship. The issue for June, 1940, contained an illuminating article by Dr. R. Regout, S.J., Professor of International Law at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, on "Legal conditions in occupied territory." After its distribution the number was confiscated. Prof. Regout was soon sent to a concentration-camp and after heroic sufferings for God and his country he died in Dachau on Dec. 29th, 1942. *Studiën* still carried on with tact and courage, until in August, 1941, the Germans stopped its publication as "a danger to public order."

However, as everywhere in occupied territories, study went on, the rebirth was being prepared. After the liberation of the South of Holland the difficulties were still numerous—transport was almost non-existent; the offices of the publishers and printers were seriously damaged; all the archives and collected material were destroyed when the Germans wantonly set fire to part of Nijmegen.

But there was an urgent and general call for clear, expert, Catholic guidance. It had to be answered. One had to adapt oneself to the possibilities and requirements. The original sub-title of *Studiën* became the main title of a new review: *Katholiek Cultureel Tijdschrift*, because it is not the intention to provide "studies" in the strict sense, but short, well-reasoned articles for the educated classes, giving information and guidance on any question of general interest. The paper allowance is quite generous. *K.C.T.* has 32 pages, printed in double columns, so as to make the best use of space. Soon it will have as many as 48 pages. Moreover, it is now a fortnightly publication.

K.C.T. has an expert staff of writers, both clerical and lay. A short survey of the articles in these first numbers will give an idea both of the "catholicity" of this periodical and of the problems which are topical in a country which is endeavouring to build anew and recover its former energy.

Suffering and separation, more or less natural consequences of war, give rise to speculation on the problem of evil, on the end of the world, on the rôle of Antichrist and to a defence of monogamous marriage. The necessity of the punishment of war-criminals, the delay of which is provoking much criticism, is discussed in articles on the reconciliation of punishment and forgiveness, and on the justification of retrospective laws. Youth is running wild, because during the occupation disobedience to the Germans became a virtue, and even now many schools have been requisitioned for repatriation and other purposes. The children of collaborators must be cared for. Reform of schools and youth-movements offers an opportunity to simplify pre-war over-organization and to correct mistakes. Ample scope is provided for carrying on discussions and for stating guiding principles.

The social and political problems discussed are many. There is the philosophical question of the proper relationship between the individual and the State; there are the progressives and the conservatives in their different gradations; the legalisation of what has been "illegal"; the reorganization of industries; the rights and claims of the workers. The welcome, but dangerous presence of allied soldiers gives rise to suggestions and warnings and even to some articles on Jazz.

It is abundantly clear that there is need for guidance, and, judging by these first numbers, *K.C.T.* is competent to give it. The periodical gains in interest by some additional features like Catholic World News, Letters from Rome, Book Reviews, The Voice of Others, and a number of notable poems, surprisingly all by Jesuits.

J. V. D. POEL.

II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

- AMERICA** : June 9th, 1945. **Communists Turn Left Again**, by Benjamin L. Masse, S.J. [An illuminating article which shows how Communists in the U.S.A. have been called to task by their Soviet directors and made to repudiate their "opportunistic errors" indulged in after the meeting of the Heads of the Three States at Teheran.]
- AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW** : June, 1945. **The Celtic Contribution to Scholastic Philosophy**, by William J. McDonald. [The second of two articles, stressing the Irish influence on Scholasticism in general and on St. Thomas Aquinas in particular, and tracing the contacts between St. Thomas and Petrus de Hibernia, his professor at Naples.]
- BROTÉRIA** : April, 1945. **O "Slogan" do Progresso**, by A. Veloso. [Examines the notion of "progress," the wishful thinking it has encouraged, and its present degeneration into a mere political "slogan."]
- CATHOLIC ACTION** : June, 1945. **Post-War Youth Unemployment**, by Rev. Paul Tanner. [The Assistant General Secretary of the U.S. National Catholic Welfare Conference discusses and comments upon some of the causes of youth unemployment.]
- CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT** : July, 1945. **The Russian Social System**, by M. P. Fogarty. [An interesting report, with commentary, of the visit to Russia of the British Parliamentary delegation, drawing a contrast between the British Labour movement, which thinks first of the working man as man, and the Russian system that sacrifices everything, especially the working classes, to some larger collective interest.]
- COMMONWEAL** : June 8th, 1945. **The Italian People and the Jews**, by Richard Arvay. [A Jewish refugee pays a very touching and sincere tribute to the kindness and generosity of the Italian people. This article should be reprinted here and very widely distributed.]
- IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD** : June, 1945. **Religion in the Genesis of National Socialism**, by T. D. Williams. [Introducing a study of the relations between the Catholic Church and the Protestant sects in Germany and the Prussian State, and of the efforts of the State to secure a greater control over the Catholic Church.]
- REVUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA** : April-June, 1945. **Un Newmaniste français : Henri Bremond**, by Rodrigue Normandin, O.M.I. [The Newman centenary brings this Canadian tribute to a distinguished French priest who has been styled "le premier newmaniste de France."]
- SPRAWA** : July 1st, 1945. **Appeal of the Polish Government to the Polish Nation**. [A dignified and heart-rending appeal from the legitimate Government of Poland to all Poles, on the occasion of Poland's shameful betrayal by Britain and the United States.]
- TABLET** : June-July, 1945. **Mediterranean Enquiry**, by Douglas Woodruff. [The Editor contributes a very valuable series of articles, after a personal tour, on the situation to-day in Spain and Italy.]
- THOUGHT** : June, 1945. **Catholic Resistance in Nazi Germany**, by Friedrich Baerwald. [This article supplements the account in the May-June MONTH on "German Catholicism" and points out how the task of re-educating Germany can be done only with the collaboration of the Catholic Church.]

REVIEWS

SEX EDUCATION AND CATHOLICS ¹

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S speech at the London Guildhall, when he received the freedom of the City this summer, won high praise because of "his modesty, accuracy of statement, and generous appreciation of others." The writer of the book under review will win ready attention for the same reasons. His evident mastery of psychology, old and new, will reassure those who may fear that his orthodox principles will be the fellows of obscurantism.

Authoritative directions from the Holy See are a sure starting point, especially the address to mothers by Pius XII in the autumn of 1941, "which emboldened the writer to produce his own book." Rome positively urges enlightenment, and disapproves ignorance and concealment. While parents have the responsibility, they are often ill-equipped for their work as educators. It is the main purpose of this book to "formulate some practical corollaries of this state of affairs."

The writer fully acknowledges the idealism of so many who attack this matter with natural motives only, but he has no difficulty in showing the basic inadequacy of their approach. He catalogues and criticizes some of these insufficiencies in sex education. Thus mere knowledge of physiological facts is not enough. Biology deserves recognition, it is true, but on its own merits as a science, not just as an opportunity of discussing reproduction. The condensed parody of the type of biological teaching to which he refers will delight the chance reader who is an expert biologist. Again, a modern trend which seems to class modesty as a psychological aberration is seen as a shallow fallacy when Fr. Leycester King sets down the true facts which have been reasserted by the best modern research. Perhaps in a second edition he might add to his recommended reading list the book by J. de la Vaissière, "La Pudeur Instinctive" (1935). It deals with this point in a detail which requirements of space prevent the author from attempting here. In some very trustworthy Child Guidance Clinics where the catchword, "Do away with the sense of guilt," may find too easy an acceptance, pp. 11-14, will prove worthy of careful study. A more accurate analysis of "moral" and "emotional" guilt would be hard to come upon. Might it have been enlarged by the consideration of the ethical and mental state of someone who has, quite innocently, acquired a wrong habit, and then, becoming aware of its evil nature, labours under the load of a habit of material wrong-doing now known to be formally evil if indulged in deliberately?

The main conclusion of this book is that some measure of public instruction is not only permissible, but, under carefully managed conditions, necessary. But it must be preceded by individual and private information. Among the pamphlets of use to those who deal with boys the writer might perhaps have listed the one entitled "Ourselves," by Dr. G. L. M. McElligott. A very experienced and exceptionally well informed moralist

¹ *Sex Enlightenment and the Catholic*. By J. Leycester King, S.J. *The Bellarmine Series*. Burns and Oates: London. Pp. 67. Price, 6s. n. 1945.

writing in the "Clergy Review" has concluded that the preliminary instruction would describe marital congress. He states that he is in agreement with this contention of Fr. Leycester King. May it be suggested that some elucidation of this point is necessary? Even if such a solution is reached, will not a distinction of age and therefore of manner of presentation be paramount? Fr. Daniel Lord remarks in "The Guidance of Youth," St. Louis, Mo., 1938, p. 125, "A young woman about to be married has a right to know all. To no one except a young woman ready for marriage need any details of the marital embrace be explained. But even to youngsters (who say they really want to know the truth) it can be spoken of in frank but general terms. . . . Love is expressed in a close and affectionate embrace. Out of that embrace comes the perfect union of married life and from it in some cases the beginning of the life of a little child."

Schools which maintain close relations with parents are happily on the increase. And the spread of a wise method of instruction, and the discerning of time and season for giving it can come more and more from such a partnership between parents and teachers. There are groups of the Union of Catholic Mothers who are quite familiar with the pamphlet "Preparing our daughters for Life" (C.T.S. S. 165), which the writer recommends. Probably a much simpler version of the pamphlet could be worked out by a group of a few teachers and working-class mothers (an activity for the C.P.E.A.?). For teachers in training attention might have been drawn to Dr. M. Cardwell's "Some aspects of Child Hygiene," ch. 9 (Pitman, London, 1935); while official guidance for teachers will be found in the Syllabus for Religious Instruction for the dioceses of Westminster and Salford. Copies to be obtained from the Bishop's Secretary.

No book so far produced in England has given such a carefully thought out, competent and complete treatment of this perennial problem. A second printing would seem inevitably to be called for.

R.C.G.

WOMEN WRITERS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE ¹

THE history of English literature is a field that has been worked over so assiduously from almost every angle of approach that there would seem to be few gleanings left for any but the research scholar with an eye for the microscopic. Yet, in her book under review, Miss B. G. McCarthy, M.A., Ph.D., has turned a specialists' by-path into something like a broad and entertaining highway.

It was Virginia Woolf who started her off. Readers of "A Room of One's Own"—that delicate and spirited polemic against the pretensions of the lordly male—will recall a not altogether playful fancy of Miss Woolf's: the imaginary career of Shakespeare's sister Judith who runs off to London to make a living with her pen and comes to grief in a society not yet ready for the woman writer.

Dr. McCarthy takes up the question: What were, indeed, the factors that conditioned the development of women writers and explain both their late arrival and the low standard of their output? Basing her diagnosis on Fielding's four essentials of the great novelist—Genius, Learning, Conversation (Knowledge of Life) and a Good Heart (Humanity), she has no

¹ *Women Writers (1621-1744); Their Contribution to the English Novel.* By Miss B. G. McCarthy, M.A., Ph.D. Cork University Press. Pp. 288. Price, 10s. 6d. n. 1945.

difficulty in showing that women were held back far more by lack of opportunity and education in a man-run world than by dearth of talent.

Nor was this due to a mere oversight: it was deliberately fostered by a conventional view of the relations between men and women that was thoroughly artificial and unreal. If Addison's "beautiful romantic animal" should be unfortunate enough to be burdened with intelligence, she must at all costs refrain from displaying it. Dr. McCarthy aptly quotes Hannah More: "The animated silence of sparkling intelligence with an occasional modest question which indicated at once rational curiosity and becoming diffidence is in many cases as large a share of the conversation as it is decorous for feminine delicacy to take." Tell that, one is inclined to say, certainly to the Marines (who are all for the "animated silence of sparkling intelligence") but also to the Wrens and their sisters in the other services which thrive on "rational curiosity and becoming diffidence."

That convention was a hardy survivor well into the nineteenth century. In a handbook of etiquette written by "The Man in the Club Window" some time in the 1850's there is a gem of solemn fatuity that re-echoes a sentiment very typical of the earlier period treated by Dr. McCarthy. "Literature in ladies should be what onions ought to be in cookery; you should perceive the flavour but not detect the thing itself."

"The thing itself" in all its coarse strength and pungency was certainly there in the writings of Aphra Behn, Mrs. Manley and the rest of that raffish and monstrous regiment that had to live in the moral gutter—or not at all. It is also there—without the pungency but no less volatile and lively—in the harum-scarum intellectual antics, the wild and brilliant craziness of "Mad Madge" Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, with "atomes" (and practically everything else) on the brain. These women could write—and if much that they wrote was technically crude and morally regrettable, that is only to say that, in both respects, they were of their age. Here in her judgments Dr. McCarthy is robustly outspoken and deals faithfully with her period. Her spades are never garden implements. The "Age," of course, resented strongly this female incursion into the close preserve of authorship and resented it for reasons that were sometimes sound but, more often, were irrational and hypocritical.

However, Dr. McCarthy's able study is something far more than a feminist tract masquerading as an exercise in literary history. It is a highly competent contribution to English studies, full of acute and witty comment on the literary and social setting in which her writers did their work. Throughout she reveals the trained professional touch—the knack of fastening on what is relevant and significant (as in her interesting dictum that the character-portrayal of Restoration Drama was "minute but not *deep*") and the sureness with which she places her rather formless "specimens" in the literary genres in which they are most comfortably at home. It is possible to quarrel with her arrangement on the grounds that it sacrifices the living unity of the writer to the formal unity of literary categories. In justification she would, no doubt, remind us that her business is primarily with literature—not biography. In any case, she succeeds to a surprising extent in imposing shape and order on her very intractable material. This material is not easily accessible and hence her inclusion of full and representative quotations is not the least valuable feature of her work. She has more to come in her treatment of the later women writers and we hope that it will not be long delayed.

C.W.D.

SHORT NOTICES

CHILDRENS' BOOKS

Miss Joan Windham has now published volume five in her series of saints' lives for very young children. This fifth instalment is called **New Six O'Clock Saints** (Sheed and Ward: 5s. n.). Six o'clock, we suppose, is normal bedtime for her young readers. Indeed, "listeners" would be a better term, for this is a bedtime book, and mothers, aunts and older sisters have to do the reading. Certainly the children will enjoy the stories. Fifteen saints are portrayed with rare simplicity of charm. Miss Windham again shows her predilection for saints from these islands of ours: witness her choice of Saints Mungo, David, Owen, Kenneth and Ronald. But she is not exclusive. Joseph of Arimathea, Veronica and the Roman Stephen join forces with Alice, Jennifer and Gladys (did you realise you had heavenly patrons with these names?), to watch over the Catholic child of 1945. A quite delightful book, with attractive illustrations.

Miss Virginia Arville Kenny confesses herself impatient with the many silly misrepresentations of convent life. So, in **Convent Boarding School** (Sheed and Ward: 7s. 6d. n.), she gives another picture—cheerful and encouraging as well as true. The nuns appear as thoroughly human and lovable characters; the education they give is seen to be just what young girls require and like to-day. That is her main argument; and she drives it home through sketches which grow together into a connected story. The book is intended for girls of roughly eleven years of age; and it is done admirably.

Sheed and Ward are responsible for yet another book for quite young children. It is called **Mary, My Mother**, and the price is five shillings. The children for which it caters are those already considered so admirably by Miss Joan Windham; indeed, the book makes an excellent companion for Miss Windham's volumes. The authoress, Sister Mary Dorcy, O.P., provides ten chapters on Our Lady, beginning with the Immaculate Conception and running through Bethlehem, Nazareth and Calvary, with additional items on the Queen of Heaven and Our Lady of the Rosary. The text is printed in large and, for children, highly readable type; and the illustrations, drawn in black and white by the authoress herself, are many and valuable. This is a useful addition to our Catholic repertory of books for very young children.

LITERARY

A slender volume from Hilaire Belloc, with the intriguing title of **Avril** (Sheed and Ward: 6s. n.), has the sub-title of "Essays on the Poetry of the French Renaissance." The dedication is in the form of a letter from Belloc to F. Y. Eccles and bears the date, 1904. This is a reminder of the great span of years during which Mr. Belloc has been a potent influence in our literary and our Catholic life. The book will not make general reading, since it consists of short studies of six French poets, with extracts from their works, in the original and now archaic French. But to all who have some feel for France, and understand to what extent the future of Europe hangs upon an intelligent and deep Franco-British rapprochement the book will prove most acceptable. Charles of Orleans is the first of the six poets. Villon follows, that erratic figure of high genius, who has given us some of the loveliest of all ballades, e.g.

Dictes moy où, n'en quel pays,
Est Flore, la belle Roumaine,

(with its refrain :

Mais où sont les neiges d'antan ?)

Or, in the envoi of his poem to Our Lady :

Vous portastes, digne vierge, princesse,
 Jesus regnant, qui n'a ne fin ne cesse.
 Le Tout Puissant, prenant notre faiblesse,
 Laissa les cieulx, et nous vint secourir.
 Offrit à mort sa très chiere jeunesse.
 Nostre Seigneur tel est, tel le confesse,
 En ceste foy je veul vivre et mourir.

From Villon through Marot to Ronsard, from whom Mr. Belloc quotes one or two less known poems, along with the well-known and incomparable "Mignonne, allons voir si la rose," and the sonnet, "Quand vous serez bien vieille, au Soir à la chandelle"; then to Joachim du Bellay, already in the full, flowing tide of Renaissance; finally, to Malherbe, in whom the Renaissance is turning to the more formal classic style. The final couplet of the last poem—stanzas from Malherbe's "Consolation of Du Perrier"—may serve as the envoi of the whole book :

Vouloir ce que Dieu veut est la seule science
 Qui nous met en repos.

FICTION

Love and the Lotus (Sands : 8s. 6d. n.) is a pleasantly-written and well-intentioned novel. The authoress, Miss Elsie E. Boden, studies the effects of the early war years on a group of persons, most of them young, and all of them closely interlocked with one another. The central theme is the spiritual odyssey of an attractive young woman who begins with routine church attendance which means very little to her, abandons this under the stern impact of the war, and finally discovers a new and vivid faith. The whole story is concerned with the cleansing influence of suffering upon character and with the Christian's need for sacrifice and renunciation. All this is admirable. In fact, almost all the people in the tale, from the Vicar of Chafton, a village in Devonshire where the story is mostly set, to the evacuees billeted upon the Chafton residents, appear to grow better and brighter throughout the course of the narrative. In this sense, the book is a pious one. It was a mistake to introduce religious doubts and questionings so early as the second page. For the sceptical reader will very probably thrust the book aside on the ground that it is out to point a moral rather than to tell a tale. That would be unfortunate; for tell a tale it does, and none too badly. The psychology may not be profound but it is straightforward and reasonable, though here and there one can detect an all too feminine touch. One winces or smiles—it is a matter of temperament—at certain sentences: such as that on page 113, "But God's ways are not man's ways, and it was not until three days later, when he was back in Sevenoaks, that his burden of sin was lifted. He was off-duty at the time, alone in a country lane." Or the sentences on page 120, when Jean first makes the acquaintance of the local vicar: "His eyes held Jean. Deep set, penetrating, they seemed to search her very spirit. Yet she did not draw back from them, nor did she feel shy. His presence lifted her, as Guy Maxwell's had done, on to a plane where self was forgotten in a consciousness of God." The religion which is most emphasized in this novel is that of "Moral Re-

armament," a variant upon the "better-class revivalism" of the so-called Oxford Groups. There is sincerity in it but it is entirely without dogmatic or doctrinal setting. It is an approach to Christ, not through a truth-directed and grace-encouraged mind, but from some passing emotional experience. The book introduces, though it does not urge them unduly, some of the glib formulæ of the Buchmanites. It is a sincere book but it is not, we feel, the sort of book for which the questing mind of youth is looking to-day. For, while it treats of conversion and return to God, it does so as the consequence of subjective experience rather than of an advance towards the truth.

More subtle in its writing and spiritual appeal is a novel from French Canada, called *Le Verger* (Le Messager Canadien, Montreal : 75 c.), by Claude Dablon. It is the story of the growth of a boy into a young man, an idyll of the years between 16 and 18, in which a boy's temptations and romantic dreams are shot through with a higher idealism and the stirrings of a vocational call. The story is set in the Ile d'Orléans, on the St. Lawrence, and the early chapters contain charming descriptions of life and nature in the island—its fruit and flowers, its woods and lanes, with the recurring rhythm of the river which seems to dominate the tale. The relations of the hero, Jacques Richard, with his family and school friends, the early encounter with Louise at the Feu de la Saint-Jean that ripens into a youth's first love—all this is delicately portrayed. At times the development of character and plot is suggested rather than expressed. The author's relief is perhaps too fragile to cast sufficient shadows. But the psychology is good, and there is a hint of the theme of the Hound of Heaven, following after the young man and pursuing him through his appreciation of Nature, his love of art and music, his zest for friendship and his young romance. His is a noble character, impatient with the low views and crudities of some of his schoolmates and the conventional amusements of the society he meets at home.

ASCETICAL

Short and Sharp (B.O. and W. : 2s. n.) is a challenging title ; that is what it is intended to be. The book contains 96 pages of thoughts for reflection—and for retreats—by Father George Burns, S.J. He is putting into clear and modern language the main themes of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. Beginning with man's purpose, the praise of God and the moral life of man, he contrasts the divergent ways of Satan and the World, and of Self-Control and Prayer and God. Then we reach the sections, on which Father Burns places his major emphasis, namely all that concerns our acceptance of Christ as our Leader and Ideal, and the demands that this acceptance must make on our loyalty and generosity. A valuable booklet which will of real help to those who think of making a retreat.

NON-CATHOLIC

Not long ago we reviewed a book by Mr. Daniel T. Jenkins, a Congregational minister, called "The Nature of Catholicity." Mr. Jenkins has now published a second work, this time on *Prayer and the Service of God* (Faber and Faber : 5s. n.), Asking the question why the modern man finds it so difficult to pray, he replies that this is due, in the first place, to our defective modern education, since "few of us have been trained in ways of distinctively Christian thinking about God and ourselves and

the world in which we are set." He stresses two destructive factors: the first, a certain disorganization of common life which means that "the ordinary life of society no longer provides a coherent and satisfying pattern of living"; the second, the prevailing philosophy of scientific determinism that rules out God and prayer. The consequence is that people have lost touch with the spiritual world where prayer does matter, and they react against this loss by self-assertion or by a despondent submergence of themselves in some "class" or "mass" collective. In his explanation of prayer, Mr. Jenkins follows Martin Buber and Karl Heim in making prayer a relationship of Subject to Subject, ruling out the ordinary Subject-Object relation. God, he says, is the Absolute Subject. This involves the rejection of the Catholic and rational approach to God through the world and through created things. This is the main weakness of the author's approach, and incidentally one of the reasons why modern man has forgotten to pray. He provides sound and thoughtful answers to the ordinary objections raised against the value and the necessity of prayer. There is an admirable chapter on "God's Ways of Answering Prayer." He writes, for instance:

When we ask, however, how we can discern God's answers to our petitions and intercessions, we are confronted by a serious difficulty. God works upon men primarily on the deepest level of their existence, the place where they are most fully men, the centre of their responsible manhood, and it is only when we penetrate to the deepest level of their existence that we can most clearly see the hand of God upon their lives. . . . It is only as we enter fully into the life of prayer that we can find ourselves in a position to see how it is answered.

The section on "Prayer and the Church" is less satisfactory for there enters the inevitable question of what and where this Church is. Nevertheless, the author contributes some useful thoughts. Finally, there is a vaguely drawn distinction between "Protestant" and "Catholic" that spoils his discussion of the liturgy. When he employs the second of these terms, it is not clear whether he is referring to the Catholic (or, as he would call it, the R.C.) Church or to the tendency towards liturgical and more corporate worship in the different Protestant bodies.

In *The World's Question and the Christian Answer* (Longmans: 4s. 6d. n.). Dr. A. E. J. Rawlinson, the Bishop of Derby, has published in one pamphlet his wartime Visitation Charge, four sermons, and some interesting Appendices. If the state of religion in this country forms his main theme, the question of the divisions existing among Christians overlaps into it and also receives separate treatment. Here the Free Churches are uppermost in his mind, but the Catholic Church is mentioned a couple of times, not unsympathetically. No doubt he offers much that is good and true to the post-Christians of to-day, but his presentation of the "Christian Answer" somehow fails to strike home. Is it because he is too obsessed by what the "fearless and reverent students" may think? Even the man in the pew will not find much solid food in the apologising circumlocutions about the Virgin-Birth, the Resurrection, the Ascension and the rest. "The Lord originally (to speak in pictorial phrase) 'came down from heaven'"—as if the Copernican system had stopped anyone saying *without* qualification: "the sun has just *gone down*"! So too would the *Kerygma* ring out clearer if we were told quite simply that "Our Lord was God,"

instead of having the Incarnation presented in an involved and complicated phraseology.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Two of the latest **Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs** (6d. each) deal with **France and Japan**. In the former, Mrs. Pickles studies the balance that existed between political rivalry and national unitedness in time of crisis. She shows how the old local loyalties are not yet dead and emphasizes the importance of the French peasants in the national life. There is a rapid but clear review of internal politics between 1919 and 1939, with some account of the clash of economic interests. A useful summary, ending with the judgment that France was weaker, "militarily, politically, economically and psychologically, in relation to her enemy, than she had been in 1914. In 1939 she had failed to achieve unity in time."

Speaking of Japan, Sir George Sansom reviews its history and explains the social and political elements of its composition. He warns us that Japan must be understood in the light of its very peculiar development; Western terms do not help us much.

It is certain that in the history of Japan's development as a modern State the principle of so-called divine rule has played an important part in concentrating upon national purposes the powerful spirit of loyalty which has been the distinguishing feature of the social system of the Japanese since early times. It is a significant thing that their native vocabulary contains many words which express the idea of duty or obligation, but none which corresponds closely to our Western notion of individual rights (p. 14).

Shinto, the author explains, is not a religion, properly speaking. "It is simply the expression of traditional Japanese beliefs about life and society, a customary but not an ethical code, embellished by the observance of a simple ritual" (p. 27). A good and informative pamphlet.

No 9 of the **Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs** (6d. n.) treats of **Britain's Housing Shortage**. The "shortage" in question is not merely that occasioned by the war. We are taken back into the between-wars period and shown the short-comings and inconsistencies of our general housing arrangements. Miss Bowley, the authoress, urges a planned housing and a planned rent policy.

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